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MONTHLY

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EDITORS

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GEORGE F. MOORE, AND FRANK E. WOODRUFF.

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MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS.¹

ABOUT a century and a half ago, Sir James Potter, an influential merchant in the North of England, earnestly advocated the suppression of Sale's English Koran, and strenuously urged the prosecution of its translator for open blasphemy. And the bitterness with which the Reverend Canon Isaac Taylor's recent strictures on Missions to Muhammadans have been criticised would indicate that a spirit of bigotry and intolerance still exists in some quarters with reference to the Muslim religion. A remarkable exception, however, is found in a letter from the venerable Secretary of the American Board, Dr. N. G. Clark, in which he writes: "The startling statements of Canon Taylor may well arouse the Christian Church to more earnest efforts in behalf of the world's evangelization. . . . We are but as yet playing at missions." And it is in this spirit that we shall endeavor to consider the subject. In our opinion, based as it is upon a careful study of the question for nearly a quarter of a century, there is

¹ [The writer of the following article was for twenty-one years a missionary of The Church Missionary Society at Peshawur in British Afghanistan. For many years he was government examiner in the Afghan language, and he is the compiler of the government text-books in that tongue. On the formation of the Oriental University of the Punjab at Lahore he was made one of the original Fellows by the Government of British India. He has rendered part of the Pentateuch into the Pushto language, and edited an Urdu translation of the Koran. In 1885 he published a comprehensive and very valuable cyclopædia of the Mohammedan religion under the title, "A Dictionary of Islam." Dr. Hughes during the whole of his life in the East made the condition of Islam a special study, and in 1876 visited Egypt specially to investigate the strength of Mohammedanism in that country. In his intercourse with Moslems he always wore the Oriental costume, and spent much of his time in their mosques; and in this way he has investigated the condition of the Moslem religion in all the large cities of Northern India. — Ed.]

very little in Canon Taylor's remarkable paper to question, unless his strictures are intended to imply the *hopelessness* of missionary work in the future, when we need but remind him of the "marching orders of the Master," and of the victories which Christianity has already won in the world's history. But it is not, if we understand him aright, the power of the religion of Jesus Christ (of which Canon Taylor is himself a commissioned minister) which is under discussion, but merely our puny efforts to propagate it. One great difficulty in the work is that the supporters of missions are strangely ignorant of the strength of Islam. The country vicar enjoying the restful repose of a beautiful parsonage with no other disturbing influences than "the inroads of dissent"; or the liberal lay contributor surrounded by all the happy associations of a contented home with nothing to agitate his religious soul but the "terrible increase of ritualism"; or the orthodox maiden lady whose long winter evenings are devoted to the perusal of glowing missionary reports from "her beloved society," with nothing to disturb the even tenor of her way but the "great difficulty with servants," can form but a very vague idea of the enormous strength of those gigantic religious and social systems which missionary societies seek to convert. And it is only a violent attack on our present methods, such as that by Canon Isaac Taylor, which awakens the supporters of missionary work to the fact that, at present, modern missions (especially as far as Muslims are concerned) are, as the Secretary of the American Board so tersely puts it, but mere "child's play."

According to "Schem's Statistics," there are not less than 201,000,000 Muhammadans in the world, compared with 340,000,000 Buddhists, and 388,000,000 Christians, which of itself is a very remarkable fact when we bear in mind that each of these are *missionary religions*, and that the propagation of Islam commenced six centuries after that of Christianity, and about eleven centuries subsequent to the establishment of Buddhism, whilst European races have been wonderfully prolific during the last century, thus giving to America alone a Christian population of 77,000,000 of people. We speak of the Turk as the "sick man," and imagine that the expiring dynasty of Osman represents the expiring religion of the prophet. But it is certain that in the whole history of Islam there were never so many Moslems in the world as there are at the present time, and that, under the peaceful and tolerant rule of the Empress of British India, Muhammadanism is likely to increase both as a great religious and

political influence, and not likely to decrease very rapidly in other parts of the universe.

In dealing with the Muhammadan world as a field for missionary enterprise we may divide it into six distinct sections: I. The TURKISH EMPIRE, including Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and European Turkey; countries which, to some degree, acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sultan. II. PERSIA, inhabited by Muslims of the Shia sect, which sect has special characteristics of its own whereby it is separated from the rest of Islam. III. AFRICA, which is acknowledged to be the special field of Muslim missionary enterprise. IV. CENTRAL ASIA, including Turkistan, Khiva, Kokand, Bokhara, Kashgar, Afghanistan, and adjacent countries, all of which are closed against Protestant missionaries. V. INDIA, with its fifty millions of Muslims. VI. Such OUTLYING FIELDS as the Island of Java and certain portions of China where Muhammadanism has been introduced in recent times by missionary effort.

(1.) The TURKISH EMPIRE, on account of its immediate contact with civilized Europe, ought to be the most favorable, as well as the most interesting field for Christian missions. But missionary societies have been slow to realize how impossible it is for the Khalif of Islam to tolerate any attempt to make Christians of Muslims. It is true that toleration of Christianity, under certain conditions, has ever been a peculiar feature of the code of Islam, and it is an interesting episode that, in the days of Khalid, Christians and Muslims worshiped in the same temple at Damascus. Moreover, the Oriental traveler still witnesses the strange circumstance that the contending sections of the Christian Church pay devout veneration to the "holy places" under the protection of Muhammadan soldiers. But at the same time this toleration of Christianity within the Ottoman empire was never intended to imply that a Muhammadan subject could become a Christian convert. On the contrary, it is an unalterable enactment of Muslim law that the *murtadd*, or proselyte, from the ranks of Islam must suffer capital punishment. From time to time there have been apparent modifications of this law. But they have been mere subterfuges. The advisers of the Sultan in Constantinople know full well what an important factor in American and British public opinion Protestantism is, and hence occasional *apparent* concessions have been made, but the real spirit of Moslem legislation remains unchanged. This was evident in 1875, when the missionaries accused the Sultan of having departed

from certain promises of toleration, and Sir Henry Elliot, the British representative, was instructed to reply that "the right of making proselytes from the religion of the state neither had been nor was intended to be given by the Turkish government." A view which was but confirmed when Dr. Koelle, an eminent missionary, reported to his society that "no church or special building intended for public Christian service for Turks would have any chance of being authorized by government. Any government in Turkey which would carry out the principles of religious liberty faithfully, openly, and fully, would be accused by every conscientious Muslim of infidelity to their religion and treachery to their state." It is therefore not surprising that Christian missions fail to convert Muslims within Turkish territory, nor can the Sultan be charged with more violent bigotry than that which impelled conscientious Puritans to hang Quakers on Boston Common, and equally conscientious Romanists to burn Protestants at Smithfield. The efforts of Protestant missionaries are, therefore, of necessity confined to the instruction of the ancient Christian churches, and to the promulgation of truth in private conversations with Muhammadans. The only real remedy for the present state of things is for Christian Europe to expatriate the Muslim conqueror "bag and baggage to Bagdad." Yet no thoughtful student of the religious history of nations can despise the quiet efforts of Christian missionaries at Constantinople, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Cairo, and other important centres. The good seed is being sown patiently and in hope. John Wycliffe taught the Protestant faith in the middle of the fourteenth century, but his teachings did not bear visible results in the spiritual life of the nation until the middle of the sixteenth. Although no one now doubts the success of Wycliffe's mission as viewed in the clear landscape of retrospect, doubtless many did in days when the vision of faith was dim. If John Wycliffe were a Protestant missionary of some modern society in Constantinople in the present day he certainly would be recalled for want of success. Perhaps he would be "disconnected" for lack of orthodoxy! At all events, he would not be very mightily encouraged in his missionary efforts by the Reverend Canon Isaac Taylor. We live in a practical age, when everything is reduced to the one test, the test of statistics. But you cannot tabulate "ideas." The winged messengers of thought can find no place in the statistics of missionary societies. Carlyle has well said, "Thought once awakened does not again slumber." And have no Christward aspirations been

awakened in the Turkish Empire within the last twenty years? If so, we will not stay to count the cost of these priceless germs of eternal truth. The wise merchantman sold all that he had for the "goodly pearl," and it was not wasteful extravagance, as the carping critic hath it, but the true Eureka, as the Master saith.

(2.) PERSIA is regarded by many as a more hopeful field. Shia Muslims have learned toleration even at their prophet's tomb, for no Shia can make the pilgrimage to Mecca without affecting to be a member of the Sunni sect. But in Persia duplicity is the law of life, and the gross immorality of the people passes all description. To the uninitiated the people of Persia would seem to be on the verge of embracing Christianity, but after a little careful study of their religious character you discover that they are mystics, who, like the philosophers of ancient Rome, regard all religions as equally true and equally false. As matters stand it is not difficult for the Persian to accept the Koran, the Masnavi, the Zendavesta, and the Bible as inspired records, and in the same breath to acknowledge the divinity of Ali, and Jesus, as articles of faith. It is in this Persia that Canon Taylor informs us that the twenty-eight agents of Protestant missions did not make a single convert last year; and we do not question this statement, for missionaries know full well that they could find hundreds of Persians who would accept Christian baptism and declare their unfeigned belief in every article of the Christian faith on a Sunday morning, and as readily recite the *Kalima*, and proclaim themselves orthodox Muslims before Monday noon. Such being the case, who does not sympathize with these twenty-eight mission agents in their apparent hopeless task of attempting the regeneration of Persia? But modern missions are not responsible for the unregenerate condition of Persia. The cause must be sought in the peculiar ethics of the Muslim faith.

(3.) In the vast continent of AFRICA Muhammadanism is spreading rapidly; every European traveler says it is, and not a few Christian missionaries admit the truth of the assertion. And, as far as we can see, there cannot be the least possible good in trying to soften down, or even question, such a startling statement. It would be strange if it were otherwise. The whole of Northern Africa has been for centuries a stronghold of Islam, and Islam is essentially a missionary religion. Among the five thousand students in the Al-Azhar at Cairo there are hundreds of missionaries whose hearts burn with enthusiasm at the thought of rescuing

from the "fire of hell" the lost souls of the heathen African. And such young men are found in mosques and schools of divinity throughout the whole world. While Protestant Christianity counts its missionary students by hundreds, the religion of the prophet reckons them by thousands, and the earnestness and fervid faith of these men are no more to be doubted than the zeal and religious devotion of those wild Arabs of the desert who threw themselves on the naked bayonets of British soldiers in what they believed to be *Sabeel-Ullah*, or "the Road to God." Dr. Blyden (not altogether an unprejudiced authority) declares that for three hundred years West Africa has been brought in contact with Christianity, and that not a single tribe, as a tribe, has become Christian. Such a statement is at first surprising, and, if true, only serves to illustrate a want of that Christian statesmanship in the conduct of modern missions which so distinctly characterized the missions of mediæval times. But it is not surprising to us in America when we remember that even our Puritan forefathers brought themselves in contact with the west coast of Africa for mere traffic in human flesh, and not for the salvation of immortal souls. Still, even the Secretary of the American Board admits that, as a civilizing power, Muhammadanism is exerting a very beneficent influence over the wild tribes of Africa, sunk as they are in the lowest forms of heathenism. It must surely then be for the advantage of Christian missions in the future that these hordes of savages are taught to reverence and worship one God, and to hear at least (even from Muslim lips) the name of Jesus as an inspired prophet. Even General Gordon could say, from the depths of his African prison-house, "I like the Musalman, he is not ashamed of his God, and his life is a fairly pure one." Let us hope, then, that after all, the spread of Islam through the dark continent of Africa may yet prepare the way for the light of Christ.

(4.) CENTRAL ASIA, although still closed against the Protestant missionary, has a future before it. The conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni from the southeast, and the conquests of Halaku the Turk from the northeast, of these regions are matters of history. And the expiring Turk, an exotic on the shores of the Bosphorus, by no means indicates that the Turk or the Afghan in his native hills belongs to an effete or expiring race. The brave resistance of successive British conquests by the Afghan nation alone confirms a contrary impression. Once thrown open to travel and to commerce by railway extension from Bokhara to Peshawur and from Merva to Candahar, and who will dare to assert that there

will be no victories for Christ among the manly races of Central Asia? Already the light shines from beacons extending along the whole frontier line, and among the little band of Afghan converts there have been even martyrs for Christ. Dilavar Khan, the Afghan Christian, Subadar, who perished through treachery in the snows of Badakshan, each died as truly a martyr as did John Williams in the South Sea Islands by the hand of cannibals, and Hannington in the wilds of the dark continent by the treachery of an African chief.

(5.) The BRITISH EMPIRE OF INDIA, with its fifty millions of Muhammadans, is the field *par excellence* for missions to Muslims. Here in India are millions of human beings professing the faith of Islam and yet in the enjoyment of perfect religious liberty. Many of them are educated men, fully capable of understanding all the subtleties of human thought, and not a few are men with deeply religious minds anxious to know more of the true God. Day by day the inflexible lines of religious custom laid down by the prophet of Arabia are being loosened, whilst a large proportion of the Muhammadans of India are brought in direct contact with the more civilized life of the Christian conqueror. Compared with the four sections of the Muslim world which we have already considered, this vast country of Hindustan presents a free and open "hunting ground" for the Christian missionary, a broad open sea into which he can cast the gospel net without let or hindrance. In the Turkish Empire it is death to renounce Islam; in India the fullest protection is extended to the Christian convert. In Persia the missionary is perplexed with the lawless subtleties of mystic thought, but in India he deals for the most part with the Sunni Moslem, who believes in sharp and well-defined dogma. In Africa its deadly climate is fatal to European life, but in India the salubrious ranges of the Himalayahs afford that variety of climate necessary to the health of the foreigner. In Central Asia the foreign missionary is regarded with suspicion and hatred, but in India he is held in respect and honor. Never in the history of the Christian Church has there been a grander field for Christian effort than that of the vast empire of Hindustan, with its teeming millions of historic races. As surely as in the day when St. Paul lingered at Troas does the Man of Macedonia now stand before us in an Oriental garb, and plead with the Christians of the Western world, "Come over and help us!" But it is in India that the forces of Christianity (as far as direct work among Muslims is concerned) are so essentially

weak. The missionary body in India is considerable, but the fully equipped Christian evangelists who are brought in direct contact with Muslims may be counted on the digits. There are so many institutions to be manned, so much organization to be accomplished, schools to be taught, money to be collected, accounts to be kept, that there is scarcely a missionary of years and experience who can devote his whole time and energies to seeking out serious-minded Muslims for religious instruction. After the most careful computation it may be questioned whether in the whole of India there are as many as ten able missionaries thoroughly acquainted with the tenets of the Moslem faith who can devote their whole time to constant intercourse with Muhammadans. Now if this is really the case, Dr. Clark of the American Board may well say we are simply "playing at missions," and missionary societies have no cause for quarrel with the Rev. Isaac Taylor when he with no unsparing hand lays bare the utter impotence of modern missions to Muslims. Canon Taylor has asserted that in India the number of converts from Hinduism to Islam far exceeds those to Christianity from Islam. Of course it does. No one acquainted with the mosque life of India would for a moment question such a statement. In the large Muhammadan cities of India, such as Bombay, Delhi, Lucknow, Lahore, Peshawur, and Ajmeer, scarcely a Friday passes but Hindus are received into the ranks of Islam by open confession of faith. Nor is it just to assume that such proselytes are unworthy or insincere. Living as the Hindu and Muslim do, side by side, in their social and national life, it would be strange indeed if there were not frequent instances of Hindu idolaters seeking admission into the higher faith of Islam. In fact, there are not a few of the present converts from Islam to Christianity who were originally Hindus. Muhammadans who are proselytes from Hinduism are usually dignified with the honorable title of shaikh, and these families of shaikhs are very numerous in all parts of Northern India and Central Asia. The eldest son of one of the leading magistrates in the Punjab is a convert to Islam. The late celebrated Master Ram Chandar, of Delhi, was for some time a Hindu inquirer in a Moslem mosque before he embraced Christianity, and any missionary of long experience who has had familiar intercourse with native life for many years must be able to recall many such instances. Even the religious system of the Sikhs, established by Nanuk about the period of the English Reformation, grew out of a desire to assimilate Hinduism with the Muhammadan faith. It is a

matter of fact which admits of no contradiction that, whilst Christian converts from Islam can only be counted by hundreds, proselytes from Hinduism to Islam may be reckoned by thousands if not millions, whilst the work of every devoted Christian missionary is frequently marred by the constant relapse of his converts from Islam into their former belief. Facts such as these, if humbly considered in the light of the Saviour's commission to his believing church, ought to rouse the friends of missions to increased activity, the necessity of missions resting not on their success, but on the binding commission of the world's Christ.

(6.) Islam as a missionary faith has extended itself not only to the island of JAVA, but even to some parts of CHINA, and whilst Christian missionaries to the Chinese have been perplexing their minds as to the best word wherewith to express the personality of the Divine Being, the Muhammadan missionary has proclaimed his God to be none other than the great Allah. One of the many instances of the statesmanlike unity of that great religious system which we have now under discussion. The contact of Islam and its dogmatic creed with Buddhism and its atheistic philosophy in China is not a new feature in the world's history, for it was Muhammadanism which completely crushed out the religion of Gautama from the land of its birth and drove it to China, Burmah, and Ceylon for a resting-place. And the admirers of Buddha have yet to explain how it came to pass that its agnostic teachings had not strength to resist the more definite dogmas of the Prophet of Arabia, for the power of the sword is not sufficient to account for the complete extinction of the Buddhist creed from India. The cause must be found in some essential truth which Islam possessed, but which the philosophy of Buddha lacked. The one taught the existence of that living God which the mystic teachings of the other completely obscured.

Such is but a cursory survey of the vast Moslem world, with its two hundred and one millions of people. The outlook is not encouraging. Marshaled as a mighty force of anti-Christian belief against a feeble band of Christian workers, the odds are overwhelming, but viewed with the eye of faith the day dawns. The cause of Christianity itself seemed hopeless when Thomas doubted, and the outlook of Christianity in England was not bright when the old church of St. Paul's stood in the midst of heathen London. Christian missions must be studied in the light of history and measured by the continuity of centuries. Thus viewed and thus measured, who will dare to assert that Muhammadanism can

hold its own against the great religious and political forces of Christianity. But Christianity must awake to energy.

Still there is much to discourage the most sanguine supporter of missions, much to try and to test the faith of the most earnest evangelist. And, unfortunately, as the funds of missionary societies are sustained by a constant reiteration of the "successes" of missionary enterprise, there is a disposition on the part of missionary committees to ignore any real failure. It is on this account that such a paper as that read by the Rev. Canon Isaac Taylor at the great Church Congress at Wolverhampton in October last should be received with candor and moderation by those whom it most seriously affects, namely, men who have hazarded the best years of their lives and suffered much in seeking to bring Muhammadans to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. But the question to be discussed is not, Shall all effort to convert Muslims be abandoned once and forever? — this would be to reject the world-wide commission given to the Church by Christ himself; — but, What are the causes of the present want of success? What are the weaknesses of our present methods? In fact, are there any weaknesses?

We shall endeavor to call attention to some points which we think may in some degree account for failure, trusting to the charitable forbearance of those whose methods we thus criticise.

(1.) Undoubtedly the first cause of failure in modern missions to Muslims is the manifest want of men. We may as well attempt to dam up the mighty Ganges with a feather pillow, or to arrest the seething torrent of Niagara Falls with a fan, as to seek to convert the Muhammadan world with some fifty missionaries, not half of whom are able to devote their whole energies to work among Muslims. It is this obvious impotence of missionary effort which brings upon it the supercilious contempt of travelers and of students of comparative religion. But it is not the commissioned minister of Christ, be he canon or clerk, who must cast the stone. The responsibility is theirs.

(2.) But even the few missionaries who have devoted their time to the conversion of Muhammadans have despised their adversary. They have considered that a knowledge of Arabic, a cursory perusal of the Koran, and a slight acquaintance with the mere outlines of the Muslim faith were sufficient armor for the mighty conflict. They never suppose that Muhammadanism has anything to teach, and therefore seldom pause to consider what are the inherent qualities of this great religious system whereby it

has taken such fast hold of the hearts and affections of millions upon millions of the great human family. There is scarcely a Christian polemic addressed to Muslims which does not contain evidence of this culpable carelessness regarding the belief of the Muslim. For example, the second chapter of a well-known treatise, which has been translated into many languages and circulated by thousands, begins with a statement absolutely at variance with the real belief of the Muslim. And yet so self-satisfied are missionaries regarding their methods of argument that they have never troubled themselves to rectify the error. The second chapter of the *Mizan-ul-Hakk* begins thus: "The Musalmans assert that as the Books of Moses were abrogated by the Psalms, and the Psalms abrogated by the Gospels, so are the Gospels abrogated by the Koran." Muhammadan scholars are amazed at the statement! For whilst this system of *Nāsikh wa Mansūkh*, or "abrogation," is one of the foundation principles of Islam, no Muslim divine would ever assert that the Psalms of David abrogated the law of Moses. They claim that there were six great lawgivers who brought in six successive dispensations, — Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad; and that each dispensation was suited to the requirements of a certain age and abrogated the preceding one. Hence the final establishment of Islam, to the abrogation of Christianity. But David was not one of these lawgivers, and the Psalms (*Zaburan*) are described as chants or songs, as the Hebrew implies, by all Muhammadan writers. At first sight this error, occurring though it does in a great Christian apologetic addressed to Muslims, may appear a very unimportant matter; but what should we say if Dr. McCosh or Canon Wescott had written a whole chapter based upon the assertion that Protestants receive the Apocrypha as the inspired Word of God, and one of our great tract societies distributed it year after year by thousands, without the statement having been once questioned by a single member of its committee? We give this illustration with some reluctance, for the author of the *Mizan-ul-Hakk* was one of the most able and devoted modern missionaries; but it illustrates the indifference of missionaries generally to the real principles of the Muslim faith.

Another instance. It has always been considered one of the most effectual means of disproving the divine origin of Islam to attack with the utmost bigotry the moral character of its prophet, and first and foremost in the bill of indictment is the charge of Muhammad's adultery with Mary the Copt. The religious Mus-

lim stands aghast at the charge! That his prophet was a polygamist he is ready to admit, so were many of the Old Testament saints; that his prophet kept slaves he will not deny, so did Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: but the very thought of his prophet being charged with adultery stirs his inmost soul with indignation, and, as an Afghan fanatic said to a missionary who once made the statement, "If you were only on the other side of the British frontier we could settle this controversy with the knife." The truth is, that Mary was Muhammad's bondmaid, and as lawful to him as Hagar was to Abraham and as Bilhah and Zilpah were to Jacob, and it was not the prophet's "sin" that was the scandal in the household, but that Mary the bondmaid had given the prophet a son, and by the merciful legislation of the Muslim Code (unknown in Mosaic law or in Christian slavery) became a free woman and a lawful wife. This again may appear a small matter, but how does the Christian feel when he listens to the vile attacks on the character of the Blessed Virgin by the Bradlaughs and Ingersolls of infidelity?

Once more. It has often been asserted by Christian writers that Islam sanctions the violation of an oath, although Muhammad said, "He that sweareth falsely shall go to hell fire." Whereas a careful study of the Bible will show that the peculiar law regarding the expiation of a rash oath was established by Moses (see Leviticus v. 4), and merely incorporated into Islam by the prophet of Arabia. Much more might be written on the subject, but these three instances sufficiently illustrate the point which we wish to establish, namely, that missionaries have not been sufficiently careful in their study of the faith of Islam. Archdeacon Corrie of Calcutta used to say to the young missionary as he bade him God speed, "May God preserve you from doing harm," and it surely takes some years of training and discipline to educate an efficient missionary to Muhammadans, nor is it necessary to attack Muhammadanism and its prophet all round to establish the claims of Christianity. Indeed, the kind and lenient way in which Buddhism is treated by Christian writers is a striking contrast to the methods employed in dealing with Islam. It can only be accounted for by heredity. The blood of the crusader still flows in our veins!

(3.) Missionaries have been slow to recognize the elements of divine truth contained in Islam. In these days of rampant rationalism (and Renan's new volume is before us), the higher teachings of Islam are precious germs of truth whereon to build the

spiritual structure of a still higher faith. Many years ago a missionary once heard an ignorant native preacher begin his address to Muhammadans with these words, "*Tumhara Deen Sarāsar Juth Hai*," — "Your religion is one complete lie." And yet the Muslim believes most devoutly in a personal God, in the overruling providence of the Almighty, in the inspiration of the Old and New Testament, in the immortality of the soul, in the reality of future punishment, in the necessity of prayer, in the love and mercy of God, and in the mission and miracles of Jesus. What would the missionary to the heathen Chinese give to have such a foundation of truth in the Buddhist or Confucian systems whereon to build a superstructure of Christianity! "I have," said Bishop Moule, of China, after hearing an address from a missionary from Muslim lands, "been all my life trying to teach men that there is a God and an immortal soul." The discrimination is most necessary, for as soon as a Muhammadan begins to inquire after Christianity his whole religious belief passes through a process of disintegration, and, unless the greatest care is taken to keep up his belief in certain elements of truth which he has already received into his heart *as a Muslim*, it is often found that whilst the Christian teacher is endeavoring to lift him from the sandy shore of Islam to the rock of Christ, the inquirer has slipped into the quagmire of Atheism and unbelief. It is this which very largely accounts for the deadness of Christian converts from Islam. They have been wrecked in the transition. They have taken "seven other spirits more wicked than themselves" (even as the Great Teacher saith). The frequent lapse of converts is also thus to be accounted for. They were skeptics or atheists when they were baptized.

(4.) Mission schools are far too secular in their teaching. The anxiety of the non-Christian student to acquire a secular knowledge to fit him for mercantile pursuits, and the exacting conditions of government grants-in-aid, without which it would be impossible to keep up existing educational institutions, almost preclude the possibility of giving the necessary religious instruction. There is also a paucity of well-qualified Christian teachers in mission schools, and oftentimes the instruction imparted is very unsatisfactory in its religious character. It has been usual for missionaries to regard the compulsory teaching of the Bible as absolutely necessary to the very existence of a mission school, and it seems almost incredible, but it is nevertheless true, that at one time the Bible was taught in mission schools by Muhammadan teachers. Now at first sight it appears very right and proper that

every pupil in a mission school should read the Bible; but when we remember that while the heathen idolater may take up the sacred Scriptures with a certain degree of reverence (for the Hindu regards all religions as equally true), the Muhammadan pupil comes from his home to the mission school fully charged both by his parents and his own religious teachers with arguments against the Christian Scriptures. They have been altered by the Christian. All references to the coming of Muhammad have been expurgated; the fatherhood of God has been interpolated; the expression Son of God invented, — while the story of the Crucifixion is a pure fable. Such is the anti-Christian state of mind in which the Muslim student has been educated even before he enters the Christian school. How necessary is it then that the religious teaching imparted should be of the most precise and definite character. One of the most striking proofs of the inefficiency of our mission schools as religious institutions is the fact that the secular schools of government in Northern India have yielded more converts to Christianity than the ordinary schools of missionary societies, and the very fact that at one period of missionary work missionaries actually intrusted to Muhammadans the teaching of the Christian Scriptures does but prove how completely missionaries have underestimated the teaching power of Muhammadanism as a dogmatic faith.

(5.) The bazaar or street preaching of modern missions is unsuited to Muhammadans. Our modern missions were commenced at a time when Wesley and Whitfield were "open air preachers," and street preaching was introduced as a necessary part of missionary work. But there is all the difference in the world between addressing an audience of baptized Christians on Camberwell Green or Boston Common and of preaching to a crowd of bigoted Muslims in the streets of Delhi or Lucknow. In the former case the preacher has to contend with irreligion, in the latter with religion. In the former he addresses an audience familiar with his theological terms, in the latter he scarcely uses an expression which does not imply a very different meaning in Muslim dogma from that he wishes to express. For example, *An-Najiyah*, "the saved," and *Iman*, "faith," are common terms in both religious systems, but in Muhammadanism the "saved" are a special sect, and "faith" a mere assent to the six articles of the Muslim's creed. To the student of Islam very many examples of a similar instance will occur. In dealing with Muslims, conversations with the people at the mission house or in the mosque, or

friendly interviews in the village guest-house, as well as more didactic teachings in the churches and in the schools, are far more convincing than an eloquent, but not always intelligible, harangue in the streets of a bigoted city. No Muhammadan of reputation is a bazaar preacher, for the East is the land of born teachers. The Oriental will tell you that the true teacher of men must first take care that he is not placed at a disadvantage; in other words, that he should be careful to maintain his dignity in all his public utterances, the eloquence of silence being often commended by the sages of the East as well as by the example of the Great Teacher himself.

(6.) The missionary forces of modern missions are sadly weakened by the multiplicity of Christian sects. Not that Muhammadans are perplexed by this diversity, for their own prophet foretold the division of his religion into seventy-three sects, and by the most moderate computation there are at least one hundred and fifty denominations of Muhammadans in the present day. But in Christian missions the same work is often being attempted by representatives of Christianity whose differences of methods (perhaps more than their differences of doctrine) are a positive obstruction. No church party nor missionary society is altogether free from blame in this matter. Bishop Milman of Calcutta, an extreme high-churchman, felt this to be the case so strongly that he never failed to express his unqualified condemnation of the introduction of episcopacy into Madagascar, a country brought to the knowledge of Christ by a Congregational system. A church party or a denominational society should hold its missions strong enough to prevent the necessity of its being occupied by others or withdrawn from them entirely. The existence of "diversities of operations" are a manifest gain in missionary work, enabling, as they do, one body of men to compare their failures and successes with another. But when they involve a waste of either men or money, they are a positive evil, inasmuch as they waste and weaken the forces of Christianity. And it is of the greatest consequence that different denominations as well as different schools of thought should meet together for mutual conference no matter how great their divergence in church government or in doctrine. For one party, no matter how strong its convictions, need not require any sacrifice of principle of the other. The field is too large for that. The enormous problems affecting the conversion of two hundred and one millions of Muslims cannot be judged from the limited focus of either Ritualist on the one hand or of a

Baptist on the other; for, whatever our conscientious convictions may be, the enormous range of the missionary field is wide enough for all. Nor need the modern missionary be afraid to ventilate the differences in either church government or articles of faith. For the Muslim teacher in a Muhammadan mosque on the sandy plains of Sind will understand the eschatological discussions of Andover fully as well as the venerable fathers of the Springfield conference, and the Shia priests of Persia will enter as intelligently into discussions of ritual and æsthetic worship as a Cowley Father or the judge of an ecclesiastical court.

(7.) There is considerable misapprehension as to the Esoteric principles of Islam. Almost every young missionary goes forth to grapple with this gigantic system of religious thought under the vain impression that the religion of Muhammad was propagated first by the power of the sword, and secondly by the attractions of a sensual paradise. But as a matter of fact, whilst Muhammad enjoined the suppression of idolatry by the sword, the fullest protection was accorded to the Christians. Under a sterner discipline and a more bloody conquest Christianity would have thrived, for in the religion of Jesus the blood of the martyr has ever been the seed of the church; but Muhammadanism disfranchised Christianity and extended to it a proud and arrogant toleration, as that of a superior to an inferior faith. The ancient churches (corrupt in themselves) withered and died simply because they were tolerated and deprived of the martyr's crown. Then as to the attractions of a Muhammadan's paradise you seldom or ever find them referred to in any sermon, treatise, or book on the Muslim faith. Its esoteric teachings lie in something far deeper. *Islam*, as the word implies, is the religion of "resignation" to the overruling will of a God of mercy. To despair of the love of God is a cardinal sin, and the "treasures of God's mercy" are often referred to in the Koran. The decrees of God, call it predestination or fate as you will, have nerved the Muslim for the twofold crescentade (*Jihad*) against the ills of life and the enemies of Islam, and no one can witness the calm, dignified manner in which the Muhammadan will face death, whether on the plains of the Soudan or in the dark defiles of the Khyber or on a lonely death-bed, without feeling that there is in the religion which he professes which makes "*Islam*" more than a mere name. The thoughtful missionary should not despise these Esoteric mysteries, but study them with the penetrating eye of a physician of souls.

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(8.) The want of adaptation to the habits of the Oriental is a very serious barrier between the agents of modern missionary societies (representing the cultivated and civilized habits of Harvard or Oxford) and Muhammadan peoples representing in themselves long traditions of social and domestic habits of life totally at variance with those of the American and European. The mint and the anise and the cummin are far too often insisted upon by the foreign missionary, whilst the weightier matters of "judgment, mercy, and faith" are overlooked. *The missionary to the Muslim must be an Oriental in thought and feeling*, for unless he is in sympathy with the native mind and loves the Oriental he is almost powerless. He may draw round him a few Anglo-maniacs who regard wine-drinking, the use of knives and forks, the wearing of the inelegant topi instead of the graceful turban, and the marring of his classic speech with broken English, as essentially Christian, but he will never attract the truly religious Muslim, or become the leader of any great tribal or national movement in the direction of Christianity. Nor is it enough to say that we look for such a leader from among the people themselves, for in the present supine and enervated condition of the Oriental world it would seem that any great national movement in favor of Christianity must *originate* with the foreign evangelist. The past history of religions would even indicate such a thing, for not a few of the great religious movements in the world have been led by foreigners. Nearly four hundred millions in China acknowledge the religion of Guatama, but Guatama was not a Chinaman. Millions of the Anglo-Saxon race have embraced the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, but the divine Saviour was an Oriental born according to the flesh. Augustin was not an Englishman, nor was Paul of Tarsus a Greek.

The limits of the present article preclude a more extensive consideration of the various hindrances to the spread of Christianity among nations professing the Muslim faith. The isolation of the foreign missionary from the native of the country in which he lives; the party shibboleth of Protestant Christianity; the manifest corruption in matters of doctrine and worship among the more ancient churches; the introduction of alcoholic drinks among an abstaining race; and above all the neutral character of nominally Christian government (a position wholly unintelligible to the Muslim mind), — are a few of the many potent reasons which account for the failure of missions to Muslims. Let the Christian Church admit its failure and buckle on afresh its mighty

armor for a renewed conflict. With the scathing criticisms of an infidel world it has nothing to say, for victories of Christianity have always been in evident weakness. The earliest missionaries were a spectacle unto the world and to angels and to men, and they will be so until the Lord Himself reigneth. There are failures enough in our modern enterprise to make us truly humble, but there are also successes enough to convince any candid and unprejudiced mind that the Gospel of Christ has not lost its power even in the Muhammadan world.

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LEBANON SPRINGS, NEW YORK.

THE MISTAKE OF PROHIBITION.

IN a speech at Sebago Lake, last summer, Mr. Blaine said that the principal prohibitory statute now in force in Maine has been amended from year to year, since its first enactment in 1857, "as leading temperance men have requested," and that "the changes to make it more effective have averaged nearly one for every year since the original law was passed." The same course has been pursued in Vermont for a longer period, except that prohibition there has not yet, as in Maine, been "put into the constitution." And in other states, as the movement has increased in energy or desperation, its tendency has been to plunge deeper and deeper into legislation, or root itself in the fundamental law.

I shall undertake to show that, so long as public sentiment makes this constant strengthening of the law necessary, prohibition is a mistaken method of restricting the liquor traffic,—that it is in violation of some of the essential conditions of efficient government under our popular system. For while Americans are a law-abiding people, it is with the general understanding that they are their own lawmakers, with all that that implies. James Wilson, one of the most influential members of the convention that formed our national Constitution, before its adoption said: "Oft have I marked with silent pleasure and admiration the prevalence and force throughout the United States, of the principle that the sovereign power resides with the people, and that they never part with it." The people have never parted with this power. They did not surrender it when they adopted the Constitution, for, as Hobbes before had shown, sovereign power by its very nature is in-

capable of legal limitations. This admirable principle has always prevailed. It was recognized by Washington when, in 1793, he wrote, "I only wish whilst I am the servant of the people to know the will of my masters that I may govern myself accordingly."

The prevalence of this principle is doubtless responsible for the disregard of those laws which do not express the public will. Such laws in theory, almost as indeed in fact, are dead letters. When General Grant became president he was impressed, as a soldier, with the idea that laws were orders that must be obeyed, and naturally thought that when obedience to them was no longer expected, they should be repealed. He said, "The best way to obtain the repeal of a bad law is to enforce it." But the popular idea has been far less strenuous. When the civilian Josiah Quincy demanded the repeal of the embargo, he warned Congress that it would be impossible to "enforce it for any considerable period of time longer," and then, in reply to a representative from North Carolina who had warmly responded, "What! shall not our laws be enforced?" he explained with apt illustration what he meant by the inability of the government to enforce this act, and concluded by saying, what has been true in the South as well as in the North from that day to this, — that "laws prohibiting the people from the exercise of their natural rights will have a binding effect not one moment longer than the public sentiment supports them."

With respect to particular laws and in particular localities, a quasi rebellion of greater or less magnitude always exists in this country. The trifling sense which the people take of it, in the communities where it may happen to prevail, can be explained only by their adherence to the view that legislation is not the final expression of the public will. They virtually appeal from the legislature, which misrepresents them, when they appoint agents to administer the laws, or are called upon to assist personally in their enforcement. In communities governed by public opinion the administrative function is, perhaps, even more than the legislative subject to its sway. In a despotic government, on the other hand, where there is but one will, and its first expression is final, the administrative function concurs exactly with the enacting power, and any law, however arbitrary or obnoxious, may be enforced.

All the political conceptions upon which our government is administered run back to Fichte's primary rule, that each man has the right to live in society with just that amount of liberty which will not intrench upon the liberty of other men. This

alone implies the necessity, as it gives the right, to regulate and repress in every contingency when this heritage of liberty is invaded or overthrown. But experience has shown that in making and enforcing prohibitive regulations in a popular government the people must be substantially of one mind in regard to their necessity and utility. The will of a bare majority, or even a decided preponderance of sentiment, does not afford an adequate basis for the interference of the corporate power with the exercise of those rights which the minority may insist upon as personal or natural. Nothing short of that public will which Sismondi tells us "is the sum of all the wills, of all the intelligence, of all the virtue of the state," is a sufficient support for prohibitive laws. A system of strict regulation, or repression, must embody substantially the entire will of the people and have the approval of all their intelligence and virtue. For, as already intimated, the administrative functions of a free state are essentially different from those of the state of Louis XIV. The police and the jury are of the people in as full a sense as the statute is by them. A government that rests like ours upon popular convictions can easily gain heights of legislation which it "is not competent to hold." What John Bright has called "legislation by hurricane" is the most difficult of all to sustain. When the public will falters or feeling subsides, the administrative function becomes weak and inoperative. The inevitable failure of continued energy, which Demosthenes complained of in the Athenians of his day, ensues; and while those who have a personal or pecuniary interest in the violation of particular laws will make great habitual efforts to defeat their operation, those who have nothing to gain from their enforcement beyond the general public welfare will follow their natural inclination to "mind their own business."

A free people are naturally jealous of police control. It is not less natural that they should be indisposed to exercise it, except in its most obviously necessary forms. A sense of injury more than a sense of duty must be enlisted in its support in order to make it effective. This is always the case when a theft or murder is committed. These crimes are universally regarded as public injuries, and therefore the public gives the laws that prohibit them all the help it can to make them impossible. This is not the case when intoxicating liquor is sold in violation of law. Only in a modified sense is the traffic regarded as an injury. It is the abuse not the use of alcohol that is injurious; and opinion differs very widely as to what constitutes its abuse.

It is only those laws which are universally recognized as necessary to protect the public from injury that have a continuous momentum from their passage by the legislature to their execution by the courts, that lose none of the awful energy of the public will in the course of their administration. If, on the other hand, it is attempted, through legislation by the majority, to enforce a police control which public opinion does not overwhelmingly approve, that which is repugnant to the administrative function is forced into the body politic, and "the gorge rises at it," or dyspepsia ensues. When this function manifests repugnance, or becomes atrophied, there is no resource for those who insist upon the exercise of the abhorrent control but a change of political system.

The requisite change in such a contingency has sometimes been attempted on the line of the purpose of a certain socialist sect, which seeks to realize its aims through an automatic government. Fortunately the efforts which tend in this direction are only spasmodic. To undertake the enforcement of law through steps towards anarchy is simply monstrous. The change towards which the prohibition movement more directly and logically tends is in the direction of a stronger government. A hint of what may be expected in this direction was given by Senator Miller, of New York, in his support of the oleomargarine law. With great frankness he said: "Doubtless this is a new species of legislation, or largely so, in this country and under our system, but the exigencies of the case seem so great that this body cannot afford to ignore them."

He gave four reasons for supporting the bill, of which the following, presumably the strongest, was the fourth:—

"This legislation is necessary because the states have not been able thus far either to suppress or properly control the great evil of which I have spoken, and a sufficient remedy can be found nowhere, in my judgment, save under the federal government."

The object of this law, by the acknowledgment of its principal supporter, who, as he said, "resorted to no subterfuges," was not to raise revenue, but to bring to the aid of the states the power of the federal government in the suppression or control of one item of their internal trade. There is no doubt that this is "a new species of legislation in this country and under our system." It is not possible to advance in this direction without changing the system. The failure of the states to control the oleomargarine trade was confessedly not due to their inability to secure the enactment of laws for that purpose. It was because the administrative func-

tion of the states which had those laws did not concur with the enacting power, which should have been a reason for modifying the laws rather than for placing behind them a more imperial executive power.

The success of prohibition in particular communities directly supports the view here taken. Where the prohibitory law is continuously not spasmodically enforced, the general sentiment so accords with its purpose as to bring it under the constant stress of the public will.

The mistake of prohibition is twofold. It subjects our popular system to a greater strain than it will bear without peril of a change, either in the direction of anarchy or despotism. It overcharges the functions of administration, causing, on the one hand, a disrespect for law and indifference to its violation, and, on the other, the demand for a stronger government with agencies of administration remote from popular control. The knowledge that the final expression of the public will is made in the administration of the law tends to bereave our legislatures of a sense of responsibility and honor, and make their acts in this regard hypocritical.

It is, besides, a misapplication of the forces of morality and religion in the effort to reform society. There is a very important distinction between law and morals which the advocates of prohibition seem to overlook. Law is not intended to make men good, but to prevent their becoming bad. It is addressed not to the aspirations but to the prudence and fears of men. It has been said, with much truth, that it would be a fatal objection to any law that it implied a high ideal. When the law has finished its threats it has done its work. It can do no more. The formation of character must be accomplished by influences which are distinctively moral, by motives addressed to the aspirations as well as to fear.

The negative attitude of the law with regard to virtue may be illustrated by a reference to the position which the state takes in punishing bribery in elections. It does not allow what one man is willing to give and another is anxious to take, to pass from giver to receiver — the poor man must not sell his vote, and the rich man must not buy it. But the object of the law in this prohibition is not to teach a political virtue, but to prevent a political crime in which the bribe giver and receiver make merchandise of the public interests and imperil the very existence of the state by corrupting the law at its source.

When men interfere with each other in that corporate form

called law, they must be agreed upon those actions which it is desirable to prevent, but need not be agreed as to those which it is desirable to encourage. In order to make their interference effectual they must incorporate in their laws no moral aim or aspiration in which all sane and educated beings fail to unite. What is here said applies of course only to human laws. The divine law, on the other hand, is a standard of conduct which is addressed to the aspirations as well as to prudence and fear. It is a code of right as well as wrong. It approves the good while it condemns the evil, — a thing which a human code does not attempt and could not accomplish.

In a word, the proper function of legal enactments is to prevent what the state is united in regarding as wrong, as destructive to the public safety and comfort, and not to make men moral. The limits of the corporate action of the state in regard to the vast and varied differences of human conduct are necessarily narrow. At the most law is only an incomplete index of morality. The things we have a right to do are among the least of those things which find place in aspirations after perfect rectitude. For the moulding of character and the education of communities in virtue we must depend upon a higher than human laws, upon that divine law which is written in the heart — that “silent law in the kingdom of God whose very existence,” as Bishop Butler said, “executes it.”

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PORTLAND, OREGON.

PROHIBITION IN THE LIGHT OF NEW ISSUES.

THE position taken by the writer of the foregoing article in respect to ordinary legislation under popular government is undeniably true, and it may be added that it is stated with a calmness, breadth, and candor quite unusual in the discussion of the legal aspects of temperance. Laws which are made by the people must rely for their execution upon the prevailing sentiment of the people. A bare majority of votes for a given measure will not insure steadiness or consistency of administration. The test of the practicability of legislation is not the power to enact laws, but the power to execute them. Account, however, ought to be made, in estimating the temperance sentiment of a community, of all who are agreed

in principle, however much they may differ about method. A divided state of public opinion in regard to the best means of suppressing intemperance is very different from a serious division of sentiment in regard to intemperance itself. Any reasonable method, which can secure a majority of the votes of temperance men, may fairly assume the latent moral support of a considerable part of the minority.

I agree in the main with the writer's conception of the purpose of civil law. We may not ask that legislation shall embody the hope or aspiration of a people. Statutes are not designed to express what may be, or what ought to be, but what must be. Still we must remember that the active and controlling element in civil law is the moral element. The chief reason why certain things must be is that they ought to be. It is the amount of conscience which goes into much of practical legislation which determines its enforcement. An easy law, that which falls below the conscience of a community, is the deadest of dead letters.

The argument which sets forth the "Mistake of Prohibition" is virtually the argument of present impracticability. Public sentiment is not as yet sufficiently unanimous in favor of prohibitory laws to satisfy the first condition of legal authority under popular government. Accepting the principle upon which the argument rests, that law under popular government to be effective must represent the prevailing sentiment of the people, I am not disposed to enter into a calculation of the existing sentiment throughout the country in regard to prohibition. Such a calculation would be a matter of personal opinion, or of statistics, which are, if anything, less decisive in argument than personal opinion. I wish rather to call attention to certain influences which are now powerfully at work upon public sentiment, and, as it seems to me, in the direction of prohibition. New issues in temperance are forcing themselves upon the country. They involve the question of method. They relate themselves immediately to legislation. They will soon test the active and decisive temperance sentiment of the country. If the question were always to remain the simple question of the suppression of drunkenness, I suppose that the advocates of high license and of prohibition would never come to agreement. Neither method can absolutely suppress. Enough of actual intemperance will be left after each has done its best to allow the criticism of partisans. Prohibition, it must be confessed, often substitutes the club for the open bar. The open bar, whatever restrictions may be put upon it, is a public temptation. It

invites, attracts, allures. It recruits the ranks of the drunkard. The club may offer special facilities to those who are already addicted to drink. In some cases it doubtless hastens their decline in drunkenness. The utmost moral aim of license is decency, public order, the regulation of the drinking habits of a community. The practical workings of prohibition never fully correspond with its aim. The absolute suppression of drunkenness is beyond the reach of law. Law can reduce temptation to the minimum: it cannot control private conduct. It can protect: it cannot reform.

But the question of the best method of suppressing drunkenness as induced by the common incitements, such as inherited taste for alcohol, or social custom, becomes altogether incidental to the question which is now confronting the moral sentiment of the nation, namely, What shall be done with the power which is cultivating the making of drunkards as an organized industry? This power is the capital which is invested in the breweries, distilleries, and wholesale liquor trade of the country. The capital is already immense, and as it increases upon itself must find new employment. Working as an industry, it follows the common laws of trade in extending its business. It pushes into every village and hamlet in search, not of unoccupied territory, but of territory which may be cultivated for greater returns. Its market is the depraved appetite of a community. That must be developed, stimulated, and in every way increased. Hence its agents are trained in the arts of seduction. Their livelihood is made dependent upon their success in winning recruits to the ranks which they are themselves depleting by the skill and industry with which they ply their trade. The saloon is located and furnished according to the patronage sought, and such appliances are introduced for enhancing its ordinary temptations as may be necessary to secure and maintain its powers. The contention then for the suppression of drunkenness is no longer a contention with the ordinary appetite for alcoholic drink, but a contention with a vast and systematized power of money, which is working by all the laws and arts of trade to increase its market, to develop, that is, this appetite to an extent proportionate to its greed. Nor is this all, or even the worst. If the liquor interest is to maintain itself according to the natural demands of an industry or a trade, it must make itself a corrupting and demoralizing force in society at large. It must enter politics, and make itself felt in the party conventions, in the caucus, and at the polls. It was no longer a

surprise to the temperance people of a New England city that the vote of the city was suddenly changed from prohibition to license, when it was known that the Liquor Dealers' Association had \$20,000 of its election fund unexpended at the close of the election. Every local election, in which the temperance question is involved, is exposed to the corruption fund of the vast system of the liquor organizations. The power of these organizations is seen in every election of town, city, or state. It is their object to make themselves feared. They cannot afford to lose control at any point where they have gained a hold upon a political party. It may be as necessary for them to dictate the nomination of a member of the school board of a city as to make up the ticket for aldermen and councilmen. Why should they not work politically? If they represent a legitimate industry or trade, they have the right to work for its protection, and protection means, here as elsewhere, growth and enlargement, the right to the market.

To meet the issues thus presented the license system is powerless. In whatever way it may be managed it reacts to the advantage of the liquor interest. Put the license at the highest possible figure, and you simply augment the power of the great capitalists. What matters it to them whether the "industry" is distributed through small or large agencies provided it has access to the public market. One saloon under a \$10,000 license may be as profitable as ten saloons under a license of \$1,000 each. The comity which exists between the greater establishments, a comity which puts to shame the religious denominations in their struggles for the occupancy of new fields, reduces the loss from competition to its lowest limits. If a particular house occupies a field, it is allowed to hold it alone unless there is room for others. This monopoly of a given territory allows the firm which has it to carry the heaviest license which may be imposed. It is impossible to see how a license could be laid upon the liquor trade which could make it unprofitable, so well is the system organized, so thoroughly are the rights of competing firms respected. The liquor interest is one from Maine to Oregon. The brewer and the distiller and the wholesale dealer have no contentions or competitions which cannot be laid aside at the first suggestion of danger to the business. The retail dealer is simply the agent of the capitalist. It is the capitalist who owns the stock, rents the building, and directs the trade. How can license touch him in the aggregate of his business? The present rallying cry of temperance men of every order is, "The saloon must go." I cannot understand how

this is to be brought about except under prohibition. The number of saloons may be reduced, and their character somewhat changed by restrictive and regulative legislation, but the saloon still remains, an active and industrious means of the aggrandizement of the liquor interest in wealth and power. Restrictive legislation is continually neutralized by the invention or boldness of the liquor capitalists and their agents. Probably the most restrictive act is that known as the civil damage act passed by the legislature of New York, which makes property owners liable for damages for crimes which can be traced to the saloons on their premises. The Liquor Dealers' Association of New York city is striving to have that act so amended that the whole responsibility may be thrown upon the dealer, so that the rental of buildings for the sale of liquor may be made easy. If this plan should fail, the willingness to assume the risks involved in the sale of liquor shows that capital would speedily build its own buildings. It is not at all improbable that we may yet see structures in our cities erected by brewers and distillers which will rival those erected by the life insurance companies.

The fact of the aggressive, inventive, and corrupting power of the capital invested in the manufacture and sale of beer and liquor is evident to the most unthinking of citizens. The presence of the saloon is becoming intolerable, not simply because it is a public temptation, but because it is a public menace. It is everywhere recognized as the sign of a financial and political power which knows but one end, allows no divisions, and scruples at no means for the accomplishment of its purpose. And it is seen that the alternative is growing stringent — this power must be recognized as a legitimate factor in industrial and political life by virtue of its standing as an industry entitled to protection, or it must be met in open warfare which asks and accepts no terms. Politicians concede that parties can no longer play fast and loose with the problem. Public sentiment is already so far advanced that it will not tolerate trifling or inconsistent action. Prohibition has forced its way as a principle and a method where it is not accepted in its political aspirations. For it is seen that this alone means war and that war alone meets the new issues which the liquor power has so ruthlessly and defiantly raised in organizing an industry which measures its profits by the public loss, and in establishing itself as a corrupting influence in municipal and national politics.

In the midst of this awakening of public sentiment to the new dangers which threaten society and the state from the liquor

power, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States appears with timely effect, giving assurance and dignity to the movement for prohibition. By this decision the constitutionality of prohibitory laws enacted by the States is clearly and broadly affirmed. The language is very explicit. I quote the following paragraph:—

“There is here no justification for holding that the state, under the guise merely of police regulations, is aiming to deprive the citizen of his constitutional rights, for we cannot shut out of view the fact, within the knowledge of all, that the public health, the public morals, and the public safety may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks; nor can we ignore the fact, established by statistics accessible to every one, that the disorder, pauperism, and crime prevalent in the country are, in large measure, directly traceable to this evil. If, therefore, a State deems the absolute prohibition of the manufacture, and sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors for other than medical, scientific, and manufacturing purposes, to be necessary to the peace and security of society, the courts cannot without usurping legislative functions, override the will of the people as thus expressed by their chosen representatives. So far from such a regulation being inappropriate to the general end sought to be accomplished, it is easy to be seen that the entire scheme of prohibition, as embodied in the constitution and laws of Kansas, might fail if the right of each citizen to manufacture intoxicating liquors for his own use as a beverage were recognized. Such a right does not inhere in citizenship. Nor can it be said that the government interferes with or impairs any one's constitutional rights of liberty or of property when it determines that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks for general or individual use as a beverage are or may become hurtful to society and to every member of it, and is therefore a business in which no one may lawfully engage.”

The case which invited this decision illustrates the boldness of the liquor power under its new endeavor to establish itself as an industry. It was a case involving the question whether a State could prohibit the manufacture within its bounds of liquors and beer to be sold for intoxicating uses, without providing for the payment of damages to the owners of such establishments. The parties sought shelter for their business under the clause of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, which declares that: “No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall

any state deprive any person of his life, liberty or property without due process of law." By this decision they are denied the protection of the Constitution of the United States. The general government has no shelter for those whom the state governments declare engaged in "a business in which no one may lawfully engage."

The moral effect of this decision will doubtless exceed even its legal effect. In affirming, with practical unanimity, the constitutionality of prohibitory laws, the Supreme Court has called attention to the significance of these laws as related to the new issues under which they have been framed. That the execution of these laws, wherever they are in force, will be attended with varying and in many cases unsatisfactory results, or that their enforcement, under the best conditions, involves a police inspection and control which is both difficult and dangerous, I admit. But in view of the issues which are raised by the liquor power, in demanding its rights and enforcing its claims as an industry, remembering what the industry is, by what methods it is protected and extended, and at what cost to the nation its profits are realized, I anticipate a rapid growth in public sentiment towards prohibition. It may be impossible to suppress a social evil, but when that evil is intensified and developed to the point of public danger to satisfy the greed of capital, the conditions are changed. It was the aggressiveness of the slave power which brought about its downfall. Slavery as a social evil might have existed until now had not its supporters been intent upon political aggrandizement. It is the aggressiveness of the liquor power which now challenges the moral sentiment of the nation, and invites a conflict which may bring about its downfall. When a class in society *organizes* itself against the public good, the principle of unanimity in the enforcement of law must be waived to the extent in which the dangerous class, with its adherents, constitutes a minority. The principle which then takes precedence is that of the supremacy of the State represented in the patriotism, the conscience, and the aroused will of the majority.

William Jewett Tucker.

ANDOVER, December 14, 1887.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

To those who feel Wordsworth's power deeply he becomes a teacher of religion. There are certain of the greatest poets whose names have no such prophetic rank. Shakespeare's has not. In all great and perfect art a religious man finds, of course, spiritual gains; yet it is not to him the poet commonly appeals, but to the lover of freedom, beauty, wisdom, and joy. Even Milton, in whose best work the artist masters the theologian, can be devotedly admired by persons who are far from the theology of "Paradise Lost." Or it is possible to love Browning's work, saturate as it is with didactic aim, yet never adopt the Browning philosophy of life. But Wordsworth's reader must accept the Wordsworthian faith.

Only those, moreover, who have learned to feel toward Nature and Man as Wordsworth feels, can attach its true value to his average or less memorable work. Even the poorer sermons of a sincere preacher are profitable to the sharers of his faith and zeal; and a poet who has a vigorous gospel infuses it to some degree through all the ebb and flow of his inspiration.

Unbelievers complain that Wordsworth's poetry is often dull. I think the time has come for the believers, of whom I count myself, to admit this allegation. Let us say of certain printed pages, what Carlyle in a letter to Emerson says so bravely of a conversation at Rydal Mount: "Franker utterance of mere garrulities and even platitudes I never heard from any man; at least never whom I could honor for uttering them."

But it is necessary to distinguish the expression and application of Wordsworth's ideas from their content. It needs no uncommon critical power to see that in point of style and literary vigor there are two Wordsworths, an Augustus and Augustulus. There is the author of great poems such as the "Highland Girl," "Michael," "The Happy Warrior," and parts of the Prelude, work which establishes a new empire of song; and, after that, such versified inanities as the sonnet on "American Episcopacy."

Some critics fix a date, and say that after such a year the greater Wordsworth abdicates. This chronological division, though of course not absolute, is helpful to the student. The earlier style is plain, often harsh; the later is smooth, and has more of that academic vocabulary against which he at first protested. There are even two kinds of badness in Wordsworth, the awkward bad-

ness of such early poems as "Andrew Jones," or the "Sailor's Mother," and the garrulous badness of such failures as the "Thanksgiving Ode," or certain of the ecclesiastical sonnets. Each period has its excellence also; though probably the greatest and most enduring of Wordsworth's poems are those in which the two styles or periods converge, and in which he is simple but not harsh, dignified but not verbose. This mingling of his two styles may perhaps be best studied in the ode on "Intimations of Immortality," etc., and in the great sonnets on "Liberty." Wordsworth changed his poetic style, as he changed his politics, without once defending himself from the charge of inconsistency.

But as respects the matter, not the vehicle of his ideals, Wordsworth's whole career is consistent. His poor poems are less vigorous expressions of the same truths that inspire his best. He writes no trash. If he fails not seldom of elegance, or dignity, or fire, he never fails of truth to his own thought. This intellectual consistency is one of the most interesting aspects of Wordsworth's life. Some poets work on by storm and stress through several contrasted modes of thought. Wordsworth attained early to the point of view, the style of feeling, which his long life was to develop and express.

Certain great subjects he recurs to. Some of the best known poems gain much dignity and charm when thus studied as varied expressions of one of the dominant moods of a lifetime. Who does not love the "We are Seven"? It is a song, an idyl, a picture, beautiful as a wayside rose or a sunbeam on green graves. But to connect this poem with the great "Ode on Immortality," and with other illustrations of that sanctity of childhood which Wordsworth so profoundly felt, gives the pretty story an almost majesty. It becomes a revelation of the hitherto unobserved truth that children, when unperverted by teaching, do not feel, more than the Christians of the Catacombs, that shrinking from the symbols of death, which is our tradition from the Middle Ages. The "Little Cottage Girl" is of that lovely company, the

"Glad hearts without reproach or blot
Who do Thy work and know it not,"

and who, like young ministrants at an altar, virgin-souls, are never far from Wordsworth's holiest thought.

Or, another subject, take the exuberant scene from the "Idle Shepherd Boys":—

"Along the river's stony marge
The sand-lark chants a joyous song ;

The thrush is busy in the wood,
 And carols loud and strong.
 A thousand lambs are on the rocks,
 All newly born ! both earth and sky
 Keep jubilee ; and more than all,
 Those boys with their green coronal."

These lines are not mere background for the incident of the "drowning lamb." The incident, as commonly with this poet, is subsidiary. The lamb's forlorn cry is but a mysterious interruption which brings more vividly to feeling that "fullness of bliss" which is Wordsworth's interpretation of the life of Nature. It is his

"faith that every flower
 Enjoys the air it breathes."

It expresses another of his dominant moods. Such passages suggest the poet's pervading vision, much as a bit of rainbow, suddenly seen, starts the eye in quest for the completed arc.

This inner consistency is the more impressive when seen in a subject about which he seems to have changed his view — his politics. It looks a long way from Wordsworth's youthful zeal for France, to the dull praise of all British respectability, the toryism and ecclesiasticism, of his old age. The way is long indeed, and his progress in it is marked by significant decline in poetic power. But it was a change of opinion as to practicable means, not a disloyalty to his early ideals. The "men of the multitude" are always to Wordsworth the health and glory of the body politic. He hated Napoleon, not, like so many Englishmen, as the enemy of kings, but as the betrayer of the republican cause. In Wordsworth's eyes the allied armies, and especially England's, fought not for the principles of legitimacy, but for liberty and national rights. His later toryism was neither the vulgar British reverence for peers, nor distrust of the people. But he saw growing up around him the new England of the age of steam. He saw the making of Manchester and Liverpool. Probably he would not have joined in a sentimental protest, like Ruskin's or Carlyle's, against this new, inevitable world. Yet he regarded it with dread and doubtfulness. He feared the luxury of the rich and the brutalizing of the poor which everywhere grew and threatened. His service to this new civilization was not a statesman's, but a poet's, to point to unsuspected sources of "truth and pure delight." Having given such a picture of rural England as no one else will ever give, he remained fast in the belief that in such men, such manners, such influences of Nature and Religion the health of the world was to be.

Indeed, it is in the democratic vein in Wordsworth's thought that I find the secret of his influence. His philosophy is, after all, that of many other poets of our time. But a noble philosophy cannot constitute a poet. The creative force is the human passion sustaining and suggesting the theories of the universe. Wordsworth's early manhood was consumed, almost wrecked, by the *entrainment* with which he adopted the ideals of the Revolution. Except Scott, each member of that constellation of English poets contemporary with him was touched by the same flame, but with different results. Shelley lost himself in a world of fancy, or, his admirers would say, in Empyrean. Scott became a connoisseur in feudalism. Byron, as Mazzini so profoundly says, sang "the death-song of the aristocratic idea"; he showed Europe the woe and vanity of individualism; his heroes are Titans, and he is most eloquent over death and ruin. Wordsworth, not less than Byron, felt the awful changes of his time. But he did not strive nor cry. He neither despaired of the future, nor lost himself in dreams of the past. Rather by the gracious gift of genius, he set himself to show beauty, wonder, a divine life in things which are universally human, and not involved in this or that form of social institutions. His poems performed for his own perplexed generation, still more for its successor, the service for which John Stuart Mill rendered them his famous tribute of gratitude.

"In them I seemed to draw from a source of inward joy, of sympathetic and imaginative pleasure, which could be shared in by all human beings, which had no connection with struggle or imperfection, but would be made richer by every improvement in human society."

This democratic passion, the truth that Nature is for all, that true joy is lowly, pervasive, and part of Nature's scheme, is never absent from Wordsworth. I think there is not one of the poems which make his fame but sings this note. To the Daisy he says, —

"If stately passions in me burn
And one chance look to thee should turn,
I drink, out of an humbler urn,
A lowlier pleasure ;
The homely sympathy that heeds
The common life our nature breeds ;
A wisdom fitted to the needs
Of hearts at leisure."

Nor do we find such thoughts only in his lyric, youthful time. Late as 1832, long after his best work is done, come the great

lines with the prosaic name of "Devotional Incitements." He still honors the "cathedral quire," the altar service, the song, the taper-lights, the incense as it curls around the pictured angels, half concealing, half glorifying. But he has seen holier things: —

"Alas ! the sanctities combined
By art to unsensualize the mind
Decay and languish ; or, as creeds
And humours change, are spurned like weeds :
The priests are from their altars thrust ;
Temples are levelled with the dust ;
And solemn rites and awful forms
Founder amid fanatic storms.
Yet evermore, through years renewed
In undisturbed vicissitude
Of seasons balancing their flight
On the swift wings of day and night,
*Kind Nature keeps a heavenly door
Wide open for the scattered Poor.*"

If inspiration here returns, and the simpler dignity which, ten years earlier in the ecclesiastical sonnets, seemed lost forever, it is because he draws once more from the fountain-head of his power — the love of what is common and universal. Even in 1846, though only ten poems are assigned in Professor Knight's edition to that last year of his literary productiveness, the best of them are in democratic vein ; a worn-out laborer feeds his pet robin with crumbs of almshouse bread ; or the voice of "nightly streams," an "unpretending harmony" rules men's dreams to kindly issues.

"As at this day the rudest swains who dwell
Where torrents roar or hear the tinkling knell
Of water-breaks with grateful heart could tell."

Such passages, though but an echo of departed passion, are still keyed to the same noble theme, and come like the "dying fall" that closes the music of a life.

To understand the bitter obloquy which Wordsworth encountered it is necessary to realize what his public expected. Here was lowly matter in a lowly manner. His heroes were beggars, gypsies, vagrants, dotards, idiots, — not a gentleman among them, except the noble Clifford, and he a shepherd. He announced, moreover, that he had made these heroes talk in character, that he had adopted the language and the thoughts of the vulgar. The literary public was startled. Literature at that time was chiefly addressed to ears polite, to the refined and leisured class. Books for the million, as nowadays disgorged from steam-presses in floods of print, were unknown ; and a fastidiousness prevailed which a generation bred

on Dickens and the newspapers does not feel. The fame of Burns had indeed inaugurated the change. But Burns sang of the people because he was himself a peasant, and when not guided by his genius, Burns's models were Ferguson and Ramsay. Sir Walter Scott, reviving the popular ballad, avowed it his purpose to "engraft modern refinement on ancient simplicity." For a university man like Wordsworth, a poet with a theory about his art, to write deliberate homeliness seemed eccentricity, or worse. When this poet of the poor was known to have sympathies with France, and actually to have rejoiced in the fall of the Bastille, such poetry was suspected as literary treason, and fiercely attacked from the principal strongholds of respectable criticism.

Another illustration of what I have called the democratic vein in Wordsworth is his interest in the seeming wrecks of humanity. The majesty of enfeebled age (as the "Leech Gatherer") was a favorite theme. Wordsworth's last sonnet, "To an Octogenarian," is not the sympathy of age with age, but the old reverence for everything human which made the youth in 1798 write "Simon Lee." For the same cause, madness and idiocy fascinated him. He said he never saw those with minds unhinged but he thought of the words "Life hid in God." This thought, which in the "Idiot Boy" and the "Mad Mother" is between the lines, is formally and distinctly expressed in the touching sonnet about poor Mrs. Southey: —

"far, far within
Hers is a holy being, freed from sin.
She is not what she seems, a forlorn wretch.
But delegated Spirits comfort fetch
To her from heights that Reason may not win.
Like children, she is privileged to hold
Divine communion."

His profound treatment of sin is worthy of study. Few who paint guilt so severely have felt as keenly the pity of it. The problem of expiation was most carefully wrought out in the long and little known poem "Guilt and Sorrow." But "Peter Bell" illustrates, with greater artistic power, the same theme. The most desperate heart can be touched, and the redeeming sacraments are mystery and sorrow. A deep distress humanizes the soul. All his own misery and isolation, the consequence of crime, only make the wicked man harder. Peter Bell and the murderer on Sarum plain are restored in the same way. They are brought into a place of mystery and fear, and there taught by another's pain to feel first love, then penitence.

"And now is Peter taught to feel
That man's heart is a holy thing;
And nature, *through a world of death*,
Breathes into him a second breath
More searching than the breath of spring."

By the sight of suffering innocence this savage man is reclaimed.

I have thus presented Wordsworth on his human side, because he is too exclusively regarded as a poet of Nature, that is of the non-human, a poet of scenery. But in fact nothing is more alien to Wordsworth's genius than what is known as word-painting. He gives you not the scene, but the feeling in the soul, which the scene creates. His conception of Nature is sacramental, — she is an embodiment of the divine word, — the appointed nutriment of the human soul. To look upon, or rather to *feel*, the grandeur and beauty of the world is not diversion, but a great spiritual act, which is essential to the education of the human soul, and unites it with God.

"Not in some hour when Pleasure with a sigh
Of languor puts her rosy garland by;
Not in the breathing times of that poor slave
Who daily piles up wealth in mammon's cave,
Is Nature felt, or can be."

The love of Nature, the feeling for Nature, is not a new refinement for artists and gentlemen, but an experience purely and universally human. This ideal universality of pure joy, the joy of living on such an earth and under such a sky, is, as I conceive it, the inspiration of Wordsworth's life. He had no dramatic power; that demands a keen sense of individuality, moving incidents in a world of inter-distinguished men, — in short, aristocracy. His problem was this: What is "*the joy in widest commonalty spread*"? What joy is the same in youth and age, for rich and poor, for man as man? It is the question to which religion answers "Duty" and the "Love of God." To these old answers Wordsworth adds another, viz. : —

What we call the love of Nature —
"*Communing in this sort through earth and heaven
With every form of creature.*"

I would not undervalue the philosophy — that of Coleridge — which underlies Wordsworth's writings. But the poet has suffered at the hands of metaphysicians. He is not a man of thought but a man of feeling, and always asking us to feel. The scientific impulse is absent in him. His scenes and characters are like Turner's landscapes as contrasted with Claude's,

—that is, he does not care whether we see the objects delineated so long as we share his feeling toward them. When he undertakes philosophizing it is always poor poetry and crude philosophy. He was no scholar, and never mastered any metaphysical system, still less produced one. Wordsworth, therefore, is a religious teacher, not as philosophers and theologians are, but because he widens the sphere and multiplies the occasions of devout sentiment. It is a common practice in France to produce works of art in illustration of a *these*. This is not Wordsworth's method. He works from a feeling, not from a doctrine. Philosophers must take account of such a man, as they must of spring-time or maternal love. But the philosophy is an after-thought—a reflection. Wordsworth reflected somewhat concerning his own inspiration. Let us not, however, misinterpret a poet's service to his time; he slights the tree of knowledge and leads us to the tree of life. We should not ask him to systematize and explain our experience, but to enrich it.

Theodore C. Williams.

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SIR HENRY MAINE ON THE PROSPECTS OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

TILL the American Revolution the old theory of the sovereign's absolute and divine right to rule was about universally held and applied. The republics then in existence were few, without influence, respect, or a sense of vocation, and the reverse of aggressive. Not a single constitution had yet been written.¹ A century ago the notion that democracy was to become the dominant governmental polity for mankind would have seemed wild. Men looking back then noticed that, while monarchies and aristocracies had proved highly tenacious of life, every one of the numerous democracies which had appeared in the course of two thousand years and more had either perished or become weak and insignificant. There were fathers of the American Republic who

¹ That is, in the sense now usual. The Great Charter, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights never formed, either separately or together, the Constitution of England. The Hungarians date their constitution from the foundation of their kingdom in 895; but there is no charter so old, nor is the oldest and most famous that has come down, the Golden Bull of Andrew II, 1222, aught more than the skeleton of the system agreed upon in 1867.

regretted that the only government possible for these states was one promising so slight stability.¹

All this is now changed. Absolutism has given way, no longer existing in any state of first rank. Only Russia and Turkey, of European powers, are cursed with it in anything like its ancient form. Germany does not repudiate it, yet dares not profess it as a theory, and can carry it out but very imperfectly. All the American nations, North, Central, and South, not excepting Brazil, as well as England, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, Greece, and the Scandinavian peoples, have gone over with cheers to the doctrine of national sovereignty. Civilized lands are now ruled in unprecedented measure for the people. They are ruled more and more by the people. The electoral franchise has been enormously extended, so that not alone in England, but throughout all Western and even Central Europe, including Austro-Hungary and Bismarck's empire, manhood suffrage is at present practically the rule. If the form of monarchy somewhat generally remains, it is in most cases the form only, the old power, if not the old animus, of the institution having fled. Serfdom has been abolished, as has slavery itself, save in Brazil, where the noble law of 1885 promises to end that relic of barbarism in the course of a few years.²

Sir Henry Sumner Maine, in his recently published essays on Popular Government,³ debates, with his well-known candor and ability, the question whether this democratic tendency is to continue. "Nine men out of ten," he says, "some hoping, some fearing, look upon the popular government which, ever widening its basis, has spread, and is still spreading, over the world, as destined to last forever, or, if it changes its form, to change it in one single direction," skeptics being confined to those "Catholics from whose minds the diplomacy of the present Pope has not banished the syllabus of the last, a fairly large body of French and Spanish Legitimists, and a few aged courtiers in the small circles surrounding exiled German and Italian princes."

¹ Maine, *Popular Government*, p. 71.

² The Spanish Cortes abolished slavery in Porto Rico by an act passed in March, 1873. By the Act of July 4, 1870, all slaves in Cuba above the age of sixty, as well as all children of slave parents born after September 17, 1868, were declared free. A royal decree from Madrid, February 13, 1880, totally abolished slavery in this island. The law of 1870 relating to Cuba was taken as the pattern for that now working so beneficently in Brazil.

³ Already cited. The volume contains four Essays: I The Prospects of Popular Government; II The Nature of Democracy; III The Age of Progress; IV The Constitution of the United States.

Nevertheless, urges Sir Henry, those who recollect how the French Revolution, for instance, upset all human calculations, "will ask themselves whether the expectation of virtual permanence for governments of the modern type rests upon solid grounds of historical experience and of rational probability." "I endeavor in these pages," he adds, "to examine the question in a spirit different from that which animates most of those who view the advent of democracy either with enthusiasm or with despair."¹

In prosecuting this inquiry the author wishes to be judicial and hopeful. He would doubtless define his state of mind regarding the future of democracy as relatively optimistic. In fact, as we shall see, the phrase "relatively pessimistic" would seem to describe it better. He reminds us that since the rise of constitutional rule in France, French government has been thrice overturned by the mob of Paris,² thrice by the army,³ and thrice by foreign invasion provoked by French aggression.⁴ "In all," he reckons, "putting aside the anomalous period from 1870 to 1885, France, since she began her political experiments, has had forty-four years of liberty and thirty-seven of stern dictatorship."⁵

Like vicissitude has afflicted Spain. Besides half a dozen Carlist pretenders, five different presidents, one of them, Serrano, twice, three kings and two queens have, with more or less success, borne rule in that land since 1833.⁶ Sir Henry Maine calculates that between 1812 and Alfonso's accession on December 30, 1874, Spain suffered no less than forty military risings of a serious nature, nine of which "were perfectly successful, overthrowing the Constitution for the time being or reversing the principles on which it was administered." Both Christina and Isabella were driven from Spain, and Alfonso, whom a military pronunciamiento placed upon his throne, is supposed to have remained there only through the novel statesmanship of changing his ministers so soon as he found his army to be in earnest.

Popular government has staggered nearly or quite as grotesquely in most other parts of Europe. Since the Congress of Vienna,

¹ Pp. 5, 6.

² In 1792, 1830, and 1848.

³ In 1797, 18 *Fructidor*; in 1799, 18 *Brumaire*; in 1851, December 2.

⁴ In 1814, 1815, and 1870.

⁵ Page 19.

⁶ *Presidents*: Serrano, Figueras, Margall, Salmeron, and Castelar. *Kings*: Amadeo I, Alfonso XII, and Alfonso XIII, the present incumbent, born and proclaimed king on May 17, 1886. *Queens*: Isabella, from 1833 to 1868, and the young Princess of Asturias, Maria de las Mercedes, nominal monarch from Alfonso XII's death, November 25, 1885, till the birth of her brother.

which pretended not to oppose advance toward constitutionalism,¹ Germany has tried the Confederation of 1815, the ephemeral constitution and government of 1848, the arrangement of 1815 again, the North German Confederation, and the Empire that now is. It is believed that every one of the subordinate German states has repeatedly altered its constitution since 1815. Most of them have certainly done so. During 1848, each day brought forth its new constitution. Every revolution in France has shaken Germany as well. A degree of solid government came with the Empire of 1871, yet even the most hopeful will pronounce the time of its duration uncertain. Niebuhr called anarchy the God-ordained constitution of Germany. Perhaps he would not unsay this were he alive to-day.

Italy has fared precisely like Germany. Greece, since her liberation from Turkey, has encountered one revolution, which changed the dynasty of her kings.² Portugal was for long hardly less subject than Spain to military revolts. The Scandinavian governments, emphatically popular, and steadied by immemorial traditions of freedom, have passed through several serious crises; and if Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium have of late been spared it has perhaps been due to their weakness, keeping them from war, rather than to their strength.³

Turning from Europe to America, Sir Henry regards our Civil War as to his point, "being," he affirms, "as much a war of revolution as that of 1775-1782," since it was "carried on by the adherents of one set of principles and one construction of the Constitution against the adherents of another," — certainly a *non-sequitur*, save on the assumption that the vanquished party had construed the Constitution rightly. "It would be absurd, however," he concedes, "to deny the relative stability of the Government of the United States, which is a political fact of the first importance; but (he says) the inferences which might be drawn from it are much weakened, if not destroyed, by the remarkable spectacle furnished by the numerous republics set up from the Mexican border-line to the Straits of Magellan. . . . There have been entire periods during which some of them have been disputed between the multitude and the military, and again when tyrants, as brutal as Caligula or Commodus, reigned over them like a

¹ Art. 13 of the *Bundesacte* promised that at least the estates-constitutions should be restored.

² In 1862, when King Otto was dethroned and banished. George I became king in 1863.

³ Pp. 17 *seq.*

Roman Emperor. . . . Out of fourteen Presidents of the Bolivian Republic, thirteen have died assassinated or in exile."¹

From this historical survey the distinguished scholar concludes "that since the century during which the Roman Emperors were at the mercy of the Prætorian soldiery, there has been no such insecurity of government as the world has seen since rulers became delegates of the community."²

Having thus considered the fact of this political instability in modern times, he proceeds to search for its causes. There is at present, he assures us, a desire, coextensive with civilization, for national independence and greatness. Such desire is to be realized only through immense armies, rigidly disciplined, and comprising nearly the whole body of the male population in the flower of life. Now a military establishment of this sort is incompatible with a government resting on general suffrage. "The great military virtue is obedience, the chief democratic right is the right to censure superiors. It has been found by recent experience that the more popular the civil institutions, the harder it is to keep the army from meddling with politics." Wherever, as in Spanish America, a habit of thus meddling has once been formed it is nearly certain to become chronic. "There is probably no country except the United States in which the army could not control the government, if it were of one mind and if it retained its military material."

Mobs as well as armies have overthrown governments, impelled now by panic, now by a mere spirit of mischief, now by doctrinaires insane over a principle of some sort. Doctrinaire mobs are the worst, — irreconcilables, whether religious, like the Chinese Taepings and the Cromwellian Independents, or political, like the Hungarian and Italian Nationalists. Such fanatics spurn the slow methods which real reformers must use, and expect society to give itself a new heart while you count three.

The author regards irreconcilables a natural offspring of democracy, as it is continually holding up the promise of "a new and good time at hand"; yet, he adds, these hotspurs are in a most important feature more dangerous than genuine democrats: they utterly refuse to be governed by majorities.

And while hope deferred has been embittering the mob's temper, science has been adding efficiency to its arms. Remove

¹ Page 19. We have it on Sir Henry's authority that, next after the English, the Spanish tongue is used by the greatest number of human beings.

² Page 91.

paving-stones, as Paris has done, asphalt your streets, destroy all possibility of barricade, — the mob, with its dynamite-cartridges and its grenades of nitro-glycerine, smiles and bides its time.

Conceivably, perhaps probably, democracy's danger from armies and mobs may pass away; but democracy is menaced, in the judgment of Sir Henry Maine, by another evil which infects its very marrow. "When a man burns to be free he is not longing for the 'desolate freedom of the wild ass';" he wants political power. But in a government by general suffrage, each voter's power is too slender to be valuable in itself. He must unite with others. Parties have to be formed. But the party is nothing without the party-leader and obedience to him. Hence the maxim of Sir James Stephen, which our teacher indorses, that "where there is political liberty there can be no equality." To make my vote tell, I must subject myself to a superior. This superior is always the wire-puller, argues Sir Henry Maine, the "political *chiffonnier*," who either directly or indirectly collects and utilizes the shreds of political power.

His mightiest agency is party feeling. It is the life, the hope, of his cause. He must cherish and develop it by all the means in his power. Accordingly, that it may have large and plastic material to work upon, he will agitate, and of course successfully, for universal suffrage.

"But," declares Sir Henry, "one of the strangest of vulgar ideas is that a very wide suffrage could or would promote progress. . . . The chances are that, in the long run, it would produce a mischievous form of conservatism, and drug society with a potion compared with which Eldonine would be a salutary draught. . . . Universal suffrage, which to-day excludes free trade from the United States, would certainly have prohibited the spinning-jenny and the power-loom. It would have forbidden the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar, and it would have restored the Stuarts. It would have proscribed the Catholics with the mob which burned Lord Mansfield's house and library in 1780, and have proscribed the dissenters with the mob which burned Dr. Priestley's house and library in 1791."¹

True, he goes on, times have changed. We have popular education. What of it? Popular education simply diffuses popular commonplaces, fastening them upon the mind when most impressive, so as to stereotype average opinion.² There is even now, Sir Henry alleges, "a marked antagonism between democratic opinion

¹ Page 36.

² Ibid.

and scientific truth as applied to human societies." He instances the manner in which the doctrine of population, occupying "the central seat in political economy, is disliked by the multitude and thrust into the background by those whom the multitude permits to lead it," occasioning all sorts of schemes founded on the assumption that mere legislation can make a given area support in comfort any population that may chance to be upon it, however crowded. Akin to this hallucination are two others: that human welfare depends mainly on government; and that wealth is a never-failing River of Pactolus, of which from source to mouth the rich have forcibly secured possession, so that legislation, to generalize weal, has but to displace the rich and give the poor increased access to the golden sands. Such a policy of mulcting the rich, relaxing motives to saving, impoverished India, the Roman Empire, and mediæval Europe. It may yet impoverish England.

Nor, thinks Sir Henry Maine, can we in this strife between democracy and reason hope aught from the ascendancy of instructed leaders. Leaders are becoming followers, an evidence of which we see in the growing unpopularity and impotence of free and genuine parliamentary debate. The instant a majority is sure that it is such it insists upon the previous question.

Thus, seeking to be just to him, partially in fact in his own words, we have set forth the substance of Sir Henry Maine's argument. There is not a jot of it which believers in free government can afford to neglect. The faith of most Americans in the destiny of the many to rule consists of habit more than of rational judgment. If it cannot receive foundation, blessed be whatever dissipates it. We wish to dwell in no fool's paradise. And one's first impression on reading Maine's discussion is that we have been so living. Is this a fact? Must we join this Jeremiah in his foreboding that democracy's days are numbered, and that even the most advanced societies are destined to revert more or less to one of the older and more stringent forms of civil rule?

In replying to this question it must be conceded that most of the data adduced by our esteemed guide, held apart from his reasonings upon them, are unassailable, and that his comparative and inductive method, so different from that of Lord Macaulay's argument with Henry G. Randall in their correspondence of 1857-59, is the only correct one in such a study. To be sure, as old Homer might nod, our modern Thucydides may yawn. When we read on one page that voters obey party leaders, and on another that party leaders obey their followers; when, further, we see it argued

that one danger from democracy is its reluctance¹ to change laws, and another its excessive tendency to change laws, we may think of the author as having sometimes pushed the labor of composing too far into the night. Perhaps it was drowsiness, also, that led him to name our Civil War a revolution and our suffrage universal.²

But these trifles destroy in no degree the great significance of the facts set forth. If aught of criticism were in place respecting the disputant's basis of evidence, it would be, not that he has used supposititious instances, but that he has neglected numberless real and pertinent ones that lay at hand. He might have reminded us of Bavaria, where liberals themselves would shudder to see the government as popular in fact as it is nominally, lest the fine educational institutions of that kingdom, with much else that is most precious in its life, should be suppressed. He might have cited the very working of the United States government itself, of which, since the war, it has become the fashion of English public-law writers to speak so respectfully. It is doubtless distance in part which gets us their praise. Were they nearer, the corruption at our elections would shock and disgust them, as would, also, the little pains we take by improved methods of balloting³ to prevent this, the wretchedness of our civil service at many points, and the despicably slight study devoted in this country to problems of administration.

One cannot but wonder, in particular, why Sir Henry Maine fails to note our unwritten constitutional development as another proof that instability must forever curse free polity. The framers of our Constitution, we know, considered the people unfit to elect the President. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, seems to have thought himself the bravest of men when, in the Federal Convention, he said: "Chimerical as it may appear in theory, I am for

¹ Sir Henry (pp. 40 *seq.*) associates both *plébiscite* and *referendum* with ultra-conservatism. But (1) the *plébiscite* was an agent of destruction, not of conservation; (2) the French republic has refused to return to it, insisting, instead, on retaining the *scrutin d'arrondissement*; (3) the *referendum* has been a conservative agency, which (4) has on the whole thus far been a benefit to Switzerland; while (5) such a direct consultation of constituencies bids fair to be rendered relatively innocuous by widening intelligence and the increased power of the press.

² Pp. 18, 51. It is interesting, though doubtless accidental, that the two States, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, where protectionist sentiment is strongest, are precisely the ones whose suffrage is farthest from universal.

³ See the article by Allen Thorndike Rice, in the *North American Review* for December, 1896.

an election by the people."¹ To his colleagues the proposition did appear chimerical, and they proceeded to devise the electoral college. Of this, Hamilton, in No. LXVIII of the "Federalist," declares: "The mode of appointment of the chief magistrate of the United States is almost the only part of the system, of any consequence, which has escaped without severe censure, or which has received the slightest mark of approbation from its opponents. The most plausible of these who has appeared in print,² has even deigned to admit that the election of the president is pretty well guarded." Hamilton proceeds to argue that if this provision of the Constitution "be not perfect it is at least excellent," giving the people a voice in the election, yet confiding the immediate work to a few "men most capable of analyzing [*sic*] the qualities adapted to the station, and acting under circumstances favorable to deliberation." "It was also peculiarly desirable," he adds, "to afford as little opportunity as possible to tumult and disorder. . . . The choice of *several*, to form an intermediate body of electors, will be much less apt to convulse the community with any extraordinary or violent movements, than the choice of one." Also, "nothing was more to be desired than that every possible obstacle should be opposed to cabal, intrigue, and corruption, these most deadly adversaries of republican government. . . . But the convention have guarded against all danger of this sort with the most prudent and judicious attention."

And yet, not only is the device thus held up as nearly the best thing in our Constitution now a mere subject of archæology, but the antiquarian's shelf where it lies is crowded with such disused fragments of our ancient ground-law, which have gotten there in the same way. The original-constitutional prohibition of legal tender credit bills is there.³ The original-constitutional policy of legislation by free debate instead of committees and parliamentary chicanery is there. The original-constitutional duty of the Vice-President to canvass the electoral vote is there. And these are but specimens. On the other hand, rich advantages which the Constitution allows us have never been utilized, as the election of a representative by one district from among the residents in another.⁴

¹ VI Bancroft's *History of the United States*, last revision, 220.

² He probably refers to Richard Henry Lee's letters in the *Federal Farmer*.

³ We incline, notwithstanding Bancroft's Plea for the Constitution, to consider the Supreme Court's logic in *Julliard vs. Greenman* [110 U. S. R., 421] sound. Clearly, however, the framers understood the Constitution differently, so that *practically* the decision has changed the Constitution.

⁴ Guenther of Wisconsin is to represent in the Lth Congress a district other than that of his residence when elected.

The Constitution, in fact, wholly apart from its formal amendments, has become many wise a very different instrument from what it was.

Or the writer could have laid bare a more serious fault by expounding our tolerance of real inroads upon the Constitution, like the Electoral Commission bill and the Hoar Law for canvassing the presidential vote, without the proper constitutional amendments, and in general the well-nigh universal oblivion among us of the function which our fathers assigned to state and national conventions.¹ In consequence of this last we tend more and more in thought and practice to make Congress and legislatures plenipotentary, like Parliament. The few who see the perversity of this seem to expect remedy from the courts, forgetting that these have no vocation to guard the Constitution from violence, any more than to sound the alarm when any given statute has been transgressed. Courts deal with cases.

But while Sir Henry Maine does not exaggerate the number or the compass of the evils which have dogged free governments during the last century, one may ask if he does not err as to the kind and the depth of these evils. "Though," wrote Alexander Hamilton, "we cannot acquiesce in the political heresy of the poet who says,

'For forms of Government let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best,'

yet we may safely pronounce that the true test of a good government is its aptitude and tendency to produce a good administration."² Sir Henry decidedly concurs in the view of Hamilton. He does this when with such unction he repeats and inculcates Austin's and Scherer's definition of democracy as "a form of government," meaning that the business of a democracy, no less than of a monarchy or of an aristocracy, is to *rule*. The characterization must be accepted. Democracy is required to rule. It must afford security, enforce order, repel invasion. Failing in these functions it will receive and deserve condemnation.

¹ The Constitution of the State of New York wisely provides that once in twenty years the question is to be submitted to popular vote whether the legislature shall call a convention to revise the Constitution. The question was so submitted at the autumn election of 1886, but the paucity of votes for or against proved that total apathy existed upon the subject.

² *The Federalist*, John C. Hamilton's edition, p. 511. The lines are 303, 304 of Epistle III, Pope's *Essay on Man*. General Hamilton must have quoted from memory. Line 304 properly begins with 'Whate'er,' instead of 'That which.'

But, correctly judged by this test, our modern governments of the free type will not be found to display retrogression in comparison with others, whether contemporary or anterior. The interruptions and changes of government on which our author dwells so lengthily have effected sad evils, yet few of them have brought general anarchy, even for a day. They have, as a rule, glided over the surface of governmental life without stirring its depths. Local police authority has remained uninterrupted; courts have sat, and the great tide of human affairs swept on well-nigh as smoothly as ever. Few of the later revolutions in France have perturbed the essential play of government there more than the reform struggle culminating in 1832 did in England, and no language can do justice to the superiority of France's government since 1870 over that of the corresponding years of the eighteenth century.

But although democracy must be judged, and ought to be, in the light of its record as "a form of government" in that sense of this phrase which suggests force and coercion, it of right beseeches critics to remember, what Sir Henry almost forgets, that this, after all, is not the only test of good government. A more delicate and exalted criterion is the effect which your form of government has upon the higher life of the people, upon their advance in intelligence, culture, and immaterial weal at large. Government cannot be, and ought not to be, a mere police system. The species of civil polity over us powerfully affects every realm of our life. A government might do its police work well, yet be a great failure. It could produce death and call it order, order and call it ideal rule. Witness the Roman Empire from Marc Aurelius to Alexander Severus. Never did government more efficiently keep the peace or secure ordinary justice between man and man. Very possibly these important but simple offices were better performed under Louis Napoleon than under Jules Grévy, are better performed to-day in Germany than here. Can this alone justify absolutism? No more is it a final condemnation to a liberal constitution that it is relatively clumsy in the use of force. Anarchy is dreadful, yet rather vicissitude, dynamite, a revolution now and then, than the calm of a soldier-ridden Roman province.

"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

Hegel shows himself a seer where he displays the old Persian Empire as one of the most imposing milestones upon the road of time, because it fell, thus initiating historical movement.

We should confessedly have to lower our tone upon this topic

were Sir Henry Maine correct in his assertion of a necessary conflict between popular institutions and high civilization. It is a ludicrous assumption that free commonwealths would have done the violent things which mobs have done. It is absurd to say that universal suffrage would have prohibited spinning-jenny, power-loom, or threshing-machine. Free communities are precisely those which have utilized such inventions most; and as to the Gregorian Calendar, fierce as was Protestant hostility to it at first, every constitutional state has now adopted it,¹ while despotic Russia still gets on with the Julian.

Also Sir Henry's propositions touching the wire-puller's influence and the impotence of great leaders and of popular education, large food for reflection as they contain, are very far from decisive. The wire-puller is at present banefully mighty, but there are signs that his might is waning, and that that of the honest and wide-shouldered statesman is waxing. Only public apathy gives the wire-puller his way, and this, by the very evils it permits, tends to work its own cure. Not as often as were to be wished, yet how often, have we seen the people wreck the trickster's fine scheme, and turn for guidance to the bold, righteous man of affairs who dared to tell them the truth! This occurs with such increasing frequency as to give hope of a time when little politics will cease to remunerate. Healthy civil service will immensely speed the reform. Nor is it a fact that debate has lost power in settling public issues. It unfortunately is so inside the legislature: outside, in magazines and journals, discussion is the force of forces.

And, in spite of its shortcomings, there is a grand and saving potency in popular education,—which includes not merely, not mainly perhaps, the work of schools, incalculably valuable as this is, but also that of Church, press, and platform, and of the attrition of men against men in business and society. Witness the

¹ Except possibly Roumania. What Bisset (*Essays on Historical Truth*, p. 70) says of Hobbes is as true of Sir Henry Maine. His "mind would seem to have been influenced a good deal in its conclusions by dwelling more on the evils of popular assemblies than on those of absolute monarchies." The parallel between Maine and Hobbes, in their view of democracy, could be carried very far. In point here is what Bisset, p. 75, cites concerning Sir John Pringle and George III. Franklin had advocated points instead of knobs as tops to lightning-conductors. To spite Franklin the king wished the opinion to prevail that knobs were better, and tried to get Pringle, then President of the Royal Society, to urge this view. Pringle "hinted that the laws of nature were unalterable at royal pleasure; whereupon it was intimated to him that a President of the Royal Society entertaining such an opinion ought to resign, and he resigned accordingly."

sober outcome of the last general election in England,¹ of the greenback controversy in our Western States, of the *scrutin de liste* controversy in France. The gullible man, or the man with impervious cranium, is by no means always he whom we are wont to call the "common" man. A democracy, to be stable, need not consist necessarily either of geniuses or of saints, if only the entire demos participates.

Maine, in part, like Macaulay in his letters to Randall, confuses rule by the people with rule by the proletariat alone. The day predicted by Macaulay, "when in the State of New York a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast or expects more than half a dinner, will choose a legislature," can never come,² since the well-to-do also vote. And in any such crisis of hard times popular governments have this infinite advantage over others, that with them the civil order does not stand forth as the affair of the rich and great. It is "the strangest of vulgar ideas" to suppose that safety in social tempests is inversely as width of franchise. Rather, within the largest limits, is the proportion a direct one. Socialism is to-day most a menace and most on the increase in the lands where government is most rigid and aristocratic. There is a conservatism that is not conservative.³

Equally groundless is the assumption that democratic decisions must needs express mere average intelligence, that the many are persistently ignorant of their true interests, and suspicious, if not ignorant, of the right men to advise with in relation to them. It was not democracy that invented the John Law scheme, or inflated the South Sea bubble. On the contrary, sound public credit is the child, or, if you please, the twin brother, of the people's commonwealth. It is believed that, taking length of time with probity and wisdom all into account, not another public person in all history has had so splendid a financial record as the State of Con-

¹ See *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1886, pp. 272 seq.

² The laws of wealth-distribution forbid that a majority of the male adults in any of our States should ever be absolutely penniless, unless either (1) some such catastrophe as a continental famine should occur, or (2) the standard of life should so sink as to throw whole masses under the sway of Ricardo's "iron law." It is not rash to declare both of these conditions impossible.

³ Even the *London Standard* could interpose, in criticising Macaulay: "Supposing that stage of social progress to have been reached when numbers and property are confronted in a hostile attitude, will the mere fact that the franchise is a limited one prevent the conflict? It is more likely to provoke it."

necticut. The greatest feats of public financiering ever known have been achieved by republics. The United States could probably market bonds at a lower rate of interest to-day than any other nation on the globe.¹

The quickened interest in the United States on the part of Europeans in recent years seems mainly due to our feats at arms. Sir Henry Maine wishes to look closer. We commend to his notice the proof offered by our war that a genuine republic may, nevertheless, become a great military power, generals of highest genius passively obeying a popularly elected Congress and Executive, and these, in turn, maintaining full mastery, yet not hampering military movements.² And even this speaks less for the solidity of popular government than does our success in resuscitating, amid absolutely unprecedented difficulties, our Southern States after the war, in restoring and retaining hard money, in funding and liquidating our debt, in placating labor disturbances, and in assimilating the immense immigrant population brought hither by our vicious policy of importing cheap labor instead of its products. Friction in industrial strifes there has, indeed, been, but it has rarely involved violence; and when it has, how noticeable that this has proceeded, not from naturalized Americans, but from newcomers, fresh from absolutist states. It is alleged that in none of these troubles has a single naturalized policeman wavered in duty, although fidelity cost several such their lives.

The multitude has, to be sure, often misconceived its interests. It has been sometimes rash, sometimes slow, sometimes suspicious and recalcitrant; and each of these distempers has on occasion involved ill. Still does the evidence compel our belief that not only the common and obvious duty of the political authority has been on the whole better discharged "since rulers became delegates of the community" than before, but also that participation by the many in regulating state affairs has elevated society in the most important regards, advanced men in the dignity proper to thinking beings, and raised the whole level of civilized life, far beyond what the best intentioned of paternal governments could have done. Self-government by a people may depart far from the

¹ Arnold Toynbee (*Industrial Revolution*, p. 121) shows how free institutions have aided the industrial development of England. Their efficiency herein has been far greater still in America. The increased productiveness of a European laborer on reaching this country is by no means wholly due to his higher wages here.

² The reference is to the last two years of the war.

abstract ideal, yet be redeemed by the fact that it is *self-government*.¹

Again, it being admitted as before that Sir Henry Maine does not overstate the ill fortunes of constitutionalism for the century past, he seems unfair in referring these too exclusively to the nature of the government and not at all to the nature of the century.² These years have tossed governments up and down no more wantonly than they have other institutions. In all spheres ferment and stir have given its character to the time. Progress, discovery, invention, the innumerable applications of steam and electricity, are simply in keeping with the epoch in its entirety. Thought has been mightily active everywhere. It does not explain our industrial advance, for example, to call the present an age of machinery. What made it so? The new life of the human spirit, the same that has created modern science, raised up Adam Smith, Mill, Darwin, and Huxley, moved even church and theology, and rushed philosophy round the entire zodiac of the metaphysical heavens, from the subjectivism of David Hume, through Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Comte, back again to the subjectivism of Ernst Laas. If democracy has caused this movement, democracy is vindicated; if it has simply been the victim of the movement, along with other things, its wavering is in large part excused. Does Sir Henry Maine imagine that in West Europe and America antique politics would have weathered the last century, erect and firm?

It were a mistake, however, to ascribe the vertigo of popular government thus far, whether apparent or real, entirely to the times. We have to seek another cause. It lies near, and it is this, that outside the United States and the British world popular government has as yet had no fair opportunity. The spirits of monarchy, caste, and privilege have fought it with insatiable venom. To hold the nature of free government responsible for the ill success of free government is like blaming a good man's righteousness for plunging him into moral struggle. As well charge Christianity with the imperfections of its early organization and doctrine. We believe that in this Sir Henry Maine abuses history, and that the events which he regards as fortifying his view, under a just analysis, overthrow it instead.

Spain first spoke for popular government in 1812, in the famous Constitution of Cadiz, whose opening article made the nation the

¹ See Gladstone's Home Rule Speech in the House of Commons, April 8, 1886.

² Page 55.

seat of sovereignty. Coming home in 1814, after the first Peace of Paris, Ferdinand VII trampled the document under foot and vindicated absolute sway against the liberal party with blood and iron, quite in the spirit and manner of Philip II. In 1820 he was driven, through the insurrection headed by General Riego, to restore the ground-law of 1812; but in 1823, French armies, sent and supported by the Holy Alliance, entered Spain and established Ferdinand's despotism afresh. This savage régime continued till Ferdinand's death in 1833. His widow, regent for their daughter, Isabella, to strengthen that princess's cause against her uncle, Don Carlos, who assailed her title in the name of the Salic Law, again introduced popular government, which has been struggling, now with the court, now with Carlists, ever since. Its foes, monarchy, the Salic Law, the Holy Alliance, have been wholly extraneous to its nature, relics of the ill-governed past.

The first German prince to endow his land with a constitution was Goethe's patron, Karl August of Sachsen-Weimar. Its date was May 5, 1816. Less liberal constitutions followed: for Nassau, for Bavaria, and for Baden in 1818, for Hannover¹ and for Würtemberg in 1819, for Hessen-Darmstadt in 1821. Sir Henry Maine too nearly ignores these feeble beginnings. They were all made upon the old territory of the Confederation of the Rhine, and were among the best fruits of the French Revolution. That they amounted to so little was not due to the free spirit which prompted and informed them, but to the stupid conservatism of Prussia and Austria.

In the Karlsbad Decrees of 1819, the two powers bound themselves "to aid the states which had already introduced popular representation, under the name of 'the estates,' to return to a relation with the Germanic Confederation which would be more in accord with the latter's nature." The agreement was most heartily carried out. From the Austria of Metternich this temper was of course to have been expected, but Prussia's behavior after Europe's War of Independence was not less surprising than it is now painful to review.

On May 22, 1815, King Frederick William III, father of the present Emperor, had signed a proclamation promising to give Prussia a representative constitution. Under Metternich's wizard

¹ Hannover got another in 1833, which was done away in 1837, and still another in 1848. Before the adjournment of the Vienna Congress most of the South German states had raised commissions to draft constitutions. Von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im XIXten Jahrhundert*, i. p. 699.

influence he broke this promise, according to his people nothing but their old assemblies of provincial estates,¹ with a merely deliberative function, without publicity or breadth of interest. Thus Prussia, so long the hope of German patriots, espoused reaction and became the agent of Vienna's most hateful politics. Not till January, 1850, did the kingdom of Frederick the Great, some months behind even Austria in this, secure a constitution democratic in nature. With these two mightiest German states, with prestige, prejudice, and the deadly hatred for Napoleon and the French Revolution all against it, the miracle is not that German freedom has received many a setback, but that it is not dead. Yet it lives, and has to-day the strongest footing it has ever had.

In France republican progress has been impeded by the same obstacles as elsewhere in Europe, with the added bane of a powerful *parvenu* dynasty, professing constitutional sympathies but in fact favoring absolutism. Genuine liberal sentiment has thus been divided. Yet few can doubt that monarchy has at no moment since the Revolution been stable in France, that democracy has been if not steadily then unsteadily gaining ground, and that the present Republic is the most solid political fabric which has existed in France since Frenchmen began to think. Should a fresh *coup d'état* once more rock the earth beneath it the effect will be but brief.

In explaining the tardy advance of government by the people in France and Spain, it would be relevant to notice the element of race. Roman blood, Celtic blood, hot blood flows in the veins of those peoples. A still greater allowance for race deserves to be made in case of the minor American republics, where descent in part from the aborigines has made flaccidity a national trait as well as heat. We do not belong to those champions of popular government, taken by Sir Henry Maine to be so numerous, "who believe that there is at least a strong presumption in favor of democratic institutions everywhere,"² regardless of peoples' ripe-

¹ From 1823 Von Treitschke, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 550 *sqq.*, lays to Hardenberg the blame for this stultifying subservience of Prussia to Metternich. Baumgarten, in a severe review of von Treitschke's history, entitled *Treitschke's Deutsche Geschichte*, Strassburg, 1883, pp. 23 *sqq.*, with his fuller account of the Teplitz Conference, throws the responsibility where it belongs, upon the king. Von T. is undoubtedly too partial to the recent Hohenzollern. Von T. minimizes Napoleon's influence for good, yet cannot conceal that the states of the Confederation of the Rhine were exceedingly attached to him. See, esp., i. pp. 677 *seq.*

² Page 19. J. S. Mill, *Considerations on Rep. Government*, ch. iv., has examined fully under what conditions such a government is inapplicable.

ness therefor. Quite the reverse. Beneficial and triumphant democracy requires in its subjects decided intelligence, character, self-control.¹

However, the ill success of the demos as a ruler in so many countries is not primarily, even if it is mainly, a consequence of race, but rather of immemorial governmental tradition. It is not alone Latin Europe and its colonies that have bungled in operating democratic machinery. Many Teutonic states have bungled equally, precisely those, that is, whose political science, training, and law came from the Roman Empire. It is a noteworthy and most instructive generalization, that among nations at all advanced in culture, every one which has derived its public law from Rome, like those of Continental Europe, Central and South America, has moved freedom-ward only with great difficulty, while all those happily unencumbered with that absolutistic clog, as in Scandinavia, North America, England, and Australia, have progressed with rapidity and ease.

That we are here face to face with a true cause is evinced by the fact that the nations whose administrative and legal life is from Rome take thence also a certain very exalted notion of state dignity, which they still treasure up embodied in that strange system, totally foreign to our ideas, of administrative law and administrative tribunals. With them, government is a personality apart, sacred, so that to put an accused public officer to plea before the same bar, or judge him by the same rule of civic duty with simple citizens, would seem like humbling state authority in the dust. In France, therefore, if any officer of the law transcends his powers, as by making an arbitrary arrest, the case is brought before the special administrative tribunal and adjudicated by special administrative law.² "With us," says de Tocqueville, "*droit administratif* and *droit civil* form as it were two separate worlds, which by no means always live together in peace, but which are neither sufficiently friendly nor sufficiently hostile ever to get well acquainted."³ Now we maintain that this system of separate courts and laws for official offenders, this exaltation of public functionaries above common men, so wholly foreign to English and American ideas that we conceive it only with effort, this vicious

¹ de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. i. ch. xiii.

² de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. i. ch. v. Dicey, *Lectures Introductory to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*, v.

³ Quoted by Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n., from de Tocqueville's *Œuvres Complètes*, vii. p. 66.

heritage from the absolutism of the Cæsars, yields the governments using it no additional respect or strength but infinite weakness and trouble.¹ "To the European," says de Tocqueville further, "a public officer represents a superior force: to an American he represents a right. In America it may be said that no one renders obedience to man, but to justice and to law. . . . In Europe a criminal is an unhappy man who is struggling for his life against the agents of power, whilst the people are merely spectators of the conflict: in America he is looked upon as an enemy of the human race, and the whole of mankind is against him."² Administrative law has its advantages: we are pointing out one of its very great disadvantages.

Not only may Sir Henry Maine be said to misread the history which he broaches, but there is much exceedingly pertinent history which he ignores. He adverts to Bolivia: why not to Chili, the Argentine Republic, or the rich development in Spanish America of public law as a science?³ Again, rule by one or the few once prevailed universally; why, we might ask, did it not hold its own if it had such superior merit and strength? What has enabled democracy to gain its present dominance? Certainly not the favor of the rulers that were. The force of this thought is enormous but too obvious to need comment.

Fortunately for Sir Henry's case he refers little to Italy. There is scarcely on earth to-day a more free, or, allowing for the difficulties confronting it, a more successful government than the Italian. Under the sway of absolutism it was the reverse. Italy's resurrection began and has proceeded with the overthrow of non-popular rule there, and the progressive establishment of the almost ideally liberal Sardinian constitution. Order and hope marched down the Peninsula with Victor Emmanuel's armies.

What has unified Germany? Nothing in the world but enthusiasm for free and worthy government. Hardenberg, Humboldt, and Stein did not plan, or Fichte preach, or Arndt, Rückert, and Körner sing, or Blücher and Gneisenau fight merely to cast off the French yoke or to restore central authority. They wished national

¹ So far as there is honest and intelligent opposition to civil-service reform is it not due to the misapprehension that such reform would be tantamount to the introduction of a *droit administratif* system? It is, of course, a misapprehension.

² *Democracy in America*, i. v.

³ The recent erection of the State of Panama into a federal district of the United States of Colombia is another sign of progress in good government among our sister republics of Spanish stock.

unity, indeed, but they wished it accompanied with liberal laws. Only the strength of this longing can explain Napoleon's enduring popularity in Germany. This enthusiasm for a Fatherland united and free outlived the darkest days of the old Confederation, and produced all that was good — which was much — in the brave, vain effort of 1848–49. It was the breath of life to stout Bismarck as a national benefactor. It rallied the National-Liberal party to his back, enabled him to bring to birth and strong youth the North German Confederation, and at last to erect the new Empire, having wrenched the German sceptre wholly from Austria's brutal grasp on the deathless field of Königgrätz.

By Sir Henry's reasoning, ships of state steered in good old monarchical fashion should have outridden the century's storms the best. Have they? Russia has held up well outwardly, but, in view of her inward condition, it is not surprising that our instructor makes no point of this.¹ Look at Austria. Not to recall her terrible humiliation by republican France, but to begin with a date after she had had full time to rally, we find her in 1849 hardly able to conquer Hungary, even with Russia's help. Since then, she has been forced to accord Hungary virtual independence. Her Italian domains she has lost forever. Her voice at the council-board of the German states, where for the five and three quarters centuries from the coronation of Rudolf of Hapsburg to that of Franz-Josef I it determined everything, is heard no more. And she has found it at least no easier than other empires to keep peace at her own hearthstone. Nor can any one well rejoin that these ills succeeded Metternich's fall, for it was undeniably his policy which caused them.

But the principality where absolutism has enjoyed freest sweep is Turkey. Most seem to have forgotten that till about 1700 Turkish territory quite girdled the Black Sea. Not till 1783 did the Russia of modern times gain secure foothold on the Euxine shore. From that moment the Turk has been in almost incessant retreat. In 1791 his frontier was the Dniester; in 1812 the Pruth and the Lower Danube. Aided by France and England in the Crimean War, he managed in a sense to advance a step. Yet hardly, for the land gained went to Roumania, which has never

¹ A recent piece in *Temple Bar* says: "After the Pendjeh incident M. de Giers tendered his resignation in a cabinet council. Alexander III brought down his huge hand with a slap on the council table, and cried: 'We are not in a constitutional country, and you will remain in office as long as I want you.'"

been a part but only a tributary of Turkey. The Treaty of San Stefano,¹ March 3, 1878, made Roumania, as also Servia and Montenegro, wholly independent of the Porte, and erected the new state of Bulgaria, tributary but autonomous, to which Prince Alexander's *coup d'état* of September 18, 1885, added Eastern Roumelia. Bosnia and Herzegovina, placed by the Berlin Congress of 1878 under Austrian administration, hang to Turkey by a wholly invisible thread. Cyprus is England's. So is Egypt. Greece is a sovereign power, looking northward with warlike mien. To-morrow she will march to meet Austria at Salonika, and perhaps to send congratulations thence to Russia at the Golden Horn.

It were much less vain to expect popular government to be done away, had human society a wider choice of governmental types. If change is in store, no option appears possible except between the effort to advance to a more perfect constitutionalism, and a lapse back into one of the more centralized polities. But permanent lapse backward there can be none. As Prévost-Paradol has said: "A community may know the greatest extremes of anarchy and of servitude, throw down thrones and raise them up again to throw them down once more, may effect abrupt revolutions in costume and language, may affect by turns republican authority and the servile indolence of the Lower Empire; but you would see a stream flow back toward its source sooner than a democratic community return to aristocracy. Indeed, if all men are not sensible to the dear charm of liberty, and if liberty is not an absolute requirement for the greater number of beings, this is not so with equality. Its delights are comprehensible to the feeblest mind, and once enjoyed are impossible to be renounced."²

And what the masses do not choose it will henceforth be impossible to enforce. The common people are too intelligent ever again to be driven. Bismarck is learning this in his discipline of Socialists. For every one of them imprisoned a new club of them springs to life and their ominous minority in the Reichstag swells. This rigor must sooner or later yield to mildness. Coercion failed in Hungary and in Norway. It has failed in Ireland. It will still fail there. It cannot but fail in Germany. The decree has gone forth that hereafter, for good or for evil, the people, wherever mentally enfranchised, are to be autonomous.

¹ Confirmed in this respect by Art. 43 of the Acts of the Berlin Congress, signed on the 13th of the following July.

² Cited by Reinach, in the *Nineteenth Century*, vol. x. p. 358.

Will it be for good, or for evil? The aim of this article, critical rather than constructive, forbids answer in detail. Were such to be attempted it would be hopeful. We insist that a circumspect and not too enthusiastic optimism in this matter rests upon far more "solid grounds of historical experience and of rational probability" than does Sir Henry Maine's relative pessimism. Human-kind certainly progresses in intelligence and morality. New and keener study than ever heretofore is yet to be devoted to the science of administration, — most significant in view of the fact that far more than half the evils which governments have cause to fear relate to administration rather than to fundamental law. And lastly, we expect much from the silent political influence, already waxing toward dominance, of the Anglo-Saxon race, that race which will carry into the twentieth century over two hundred million souls, which since it emerged from the German forest has never felt the hand of absolute government except as a chastening, momentary touch, and which seems to have been providentially endowed with an almost preternatural address in solving the toughest problems of human life in society.

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THE TRUE CHURCH.

WHAT is to be the result of the present movement in religious thought? At first it was thought — hoped by some, and feared by others — that it would simply modify existing beliefs, and not overthrow or disturb the order of the church, while it was itself allowed a place within that order. But the conservative instinct of the church, the desire to keep things just as they are, the attachment to old beliefs, has taken alarm at this possible result, is resisting, and will probably prevent it. The intention is evidently to repress all new forms of religious thought, and this forces all who hold the new opinions to consider what they shall do. They claim that their opinions are not revolutionary, but a legitimate and orderly advance — simply the next step in a march, or development of religious thought that has been from the beginning, and will be to the end. They hold, furthermore, that the proper way to sift out error from truth, and to make a step forward that shall be a real advance, is to bring the new and old together within the

church and school, where men can compare them without prejudice, instead of putting a ban on the new, and driving it out where it will have to make a new place for itself. But the policy of repression at Andover and Newton, and in the American Board, is forcing to the front the question, what those whom it is sought to repress shall do. If the result is to be a schism, it will be curious and unexampled in its character. For the movement is confined to no one sect, and while it has many common features, it contains in the case of each sect a protest against its special form of narrowness. The last example of conservative reaction is of special interest, because it occurred in a church that is supposed to include in itself all forms of thought. For there is no doubt that the attempt to re-name the Episcopal church is intended, if successful, to emphasize the doctrine of apostolic succession, which is the special stamp of its exclusiveness, and so to rebuke and discourage some of its best men, who have been inclined to give this a poetic and imaginative rather than a dogmatic sense. It scarcely seems possible that matters will be driven to an extreme in a church generally so moderate in its tone, and in all matters of doctrine so comprehensive. But a movement like this, in the interest of pronounced churchmanship and ecclesiasticism, where the opposite extreme of broad churchmanship had before gained so much ground, makes prophecy very difficult.

What makes the question of results specially interesting is that over against this threatened schism is a sentiment in favor of Christian unity, which is one of the most marked signs of the times. Just as new controversies are making new divisions, and threatening a fresh schism, men in all the old sects are feeling the importance of the things in which they agree, and the comparative littleness of the things in which they differ, the inconveniences of sectarianism, and the advantage and excellence of unity, so that this is one of the questions of the hour. And so this is a time when men, on the one hand, are exercising that repression of thought that leads to schism, and, on the other, they are feeling after unity, which of course includes freedom.

What the church is, becomes in view of all this a question of the first importance. And, in particular, the question is, whether the church is properly a body founded on a creed, or to be divided by differences of opinion. The examination of this ought to accompany the otherwise vague and sentimental discussion of unity. If it is in accordance with the idea of the church to make the creed fundamental and divisive in it, then it becomes simply a

matter of expediency how far to carry the repression of differing opinions, and the formation of new sects. But if it is inconsistent with that idea, then the demand for both unity and freedom becomes intelligent and urgent.

First, then, what was the church originally? We find that those who, having heard the preaching of the gospel, accepted and confessed Christ formed the Christian church, that is, the Christian community. There was included in this the acceptance of Christ, or faith, and the confession of Christ, or baptism. And there was excluded, apparently, any act of reception by the church, and all reference to a creed. Further, the baptism was strictly confessional. It was the believer's declaration of his faith, and as such followed immediately the inward act of faith. The two together made really one act, were constituent parts of the one initial act of the Christian life. But what was the preaching that led to faith, and what consequently was the faith? All the accounts of this preaching represent it as narrative and descriptive, not doctrinal. It was, on the one hand, a statement of the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and, on the other, such a recital of the history and prophecy of the Old Testament as would lead to belief in a suffering Messiah, and in Jesus as that Messiah.

And faith became in this light an acceptance of Jesus as a person, and not of any doctrine about him. In marked contrast with this are the epistles to the churches, which are doctrinal in their character. They contain, as the fundamental preaching does not, the unfolding and interpretation of the gospel facts.

This contrast is exceedingly instructive and important in regard to the place of faith, and of doctrinal belief in the church. The one is personal, simple, initial, and with the accompanying confession is the only condition of entrance into the church. All confessed believers were, *ipso facto*, and not by any action of the church, members of the church. Faith, then, is the constitutive act, the constructive principle, of the church, and not doctrinal belief.

Of course the significant thing about this is the principle of the unity of the church. This faith in Jesus is what makes and distinguishes a Christian, and all Christians have it. This, then, being the sole condition of membership in the church makes the church and the Christian community to be one and the same — co-extensive and identical. After that first characteristic-act, differences of belief and of conduct are almost a necessity. In spite of

the attempt to produce uniformity of belief by creed subscription, catechetical and doctrinal instruction, every church contains within itself about all varieties of belief. And while one man believes that he may eat all things, another eats herbs. Some churches proscribe certain forms of amusement, but owing to the differences of opinion among their members, the proscription becomes a rule that they play fast and loose with, and the enforcement of which becomes spasmodic and irregular, like certain laws of the state. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind — let no man judge you — why is my liberty judged by another conscience? says the apostle to the Gentiles. Now if any of these things about which Christians differ is put into the constitution of the church, the consequence is division. Something is required for membership in the church which is not required to be a Christian, and so two churches, or else Christians within and without the church, are the result. These things divide Christians, and constituted tests, they divide the church. But faith unites all, and so becomes the symbol of unity. And notice that this is an organic, ecclesiastical unity. Many to-day recognize the need of sentimental unity; they feel the unity of the faith and the oneness of believers, and they emphasize good feeling and fellowship among the sects; but they question whether it was ever intended to impose organic unity upon believers, and make it a matter of conscience to keep up and enforce the divisive tests. Let us thank God for this unity — it is good as far as it goes. But this unity of the early church was organic. All believers constituted the one church. The church became coextensive with Christianity. It was the organic form, or embodiment, of Christianity, and not of a party, or a creed. Now it does not follow that, because the early church was so constituted, we of the present time must follow its example. It is not at all certain that the apostolic church is intended to give law to us. Nay, in all matters of church government, it is impossible that it should do so. For there is no such thing as uniformity of church government and administration in the New Testament. Instead, there are the germs of almost every form of ecclesiasticism. Here is Presbyterianism in the eldership, and the germinant distinction between ruling and teaching elders. Here is the Episcopal idea in the authority exercised by outside persons and churches over the individual church. Here is Independency in the fact that this authority is unorganized, and tends to decrease, while it never takes the form of the general church exercising authority over the individual churches. The

question is not, did the early church do this or that? — but did its action involve a general principle that gives it permanency? Now, in answering this question with reference to the unity of the early church, it is well to notice that there were differences to produce division, if that had been considered allowable. This is an important consideration, since in any consideration of the authority of the early church in deciding present customs it is always germane to the question to ask whether the circumstances were the same. But in this matter certainly there is no change of conditions to justify a departure. For the conflict between the Judaizing section of the church, and what Paul calls his gospel, comes as near being radical and really divisive in its character as anything in the history of Christianity. But Paul never sought to divide the church on this or any question. And both sides admitted a compromise in the conference at Jerusalem.

And it was not a mere chance, as if they simply escaped an impending fate, the question not having come up in this form. But it did come up, and gave the opportunity for Paul to state definitely the principle of the unity of the church. In the Corinthian church divisions arose, and different parties called themselves by the names of their several leaders, among them one that called itself by the name of Paul. And before the great apostle proceeded to consider the questions involved between these parties, he first laid down the law, that these leaders all belonged to the one church, not each to some party within the church. Christ has been divided, is his statement of the deplorable result. And yet there had been no division into churches, as now, only the formation of parties within the church. The church, he contends, is Christian, not Pauline, nor Apolline — not Calvinistic, nor Arminian, he would say now. To call themselves by these names was carnal and human. Paul says this very much more distinctly than he enunciates certain doctrines supposed to belong distinctively to him; but men and sects that cling tenaciously to the doctrines have no scruple in rejecting or ignoring this. What, then, was the principle of unity? Simply this, that the church is the body of Christ. Primarily, this applied to the whole company of believers, and so far as this is merely a matter of sentiment, affecting nothing, unity is admitted here with more or less of readiness. But the same language is used also of the local churches. The local church was to the early Christians and their leaders simply the local representative of the catholic or universal church. It is not generally believed that the universal church was a voluntary body, able to pre-

scribe its own conditions of membership, so as to exclude confessed Christians, and confine itself to certain homogeneous kinds of Christians. But just this is the fundamental principle of sectarianism in regard to the local church, and this principle has been extended so as to include those larger organizations in which the province or the nation, instead of the city or town, is the unit. But outside of all these, no matter how extended may be their range, it is generally admitted that there is an unorganized, ideal body, the church universal. And to this no man can prescribe limits—it has the freedom and universality of the Christ. That belief in him which is not the distinctive mark of a sect, but the common possession of all Christians, is the only condition of membership. This church can call itself consistently the body of Christ, that is, the community of men, or spiritual organism, occupied and moved by his Spirit. And any smaller body, in which the division is merely local, but in which the organizing principle is the same, is worthy of the same name. But if it adds to the organizing principle that which necessarily divides the body, or if it subtracts from it, with the result of enlarging the body, then the title to be called the body of Christ is forfeited. Calvinism, for instance, may be true, but if belief in this system is added to belief in Christ as a condition of membership in the church, the result is that the church, whatever else it may be, is not the body of Christ. For it is admitted that this belief is not essential to Christian standing—persons may be equally good Christians without it—and consequently some members are omitted. But the body is not the body without its members, or, more accurately, if some of its members are purposely left out of its organization, if it is so constituted as to omit them. The idea of defect or omission must not be incorporated into the constitution of the body. And so, on the other hand, if the organizing principle is something less than this faith, a faith that constitutes vital, spiritual connection with Christ, that works by love and purifies the heart,—if it is so construed as to require only a nominal connection with the Lord,—then again it is not the body of Christ that results. For evidently the connection between the body and its members, between the whole and Christ, is vital. But now, this body of Christ is the church—primarily the universal church, but also the local church. The term is applied indifferently to both. And it is evident that this characteristic of a church is lost when it ceases to be purely and simply Christian, and becomes Baptist, Calvinistic, Arminian, or what not.

Now I am aware of the very plausible objection to all this, — that belief in Christ is equivalent to belief in the truth about him, and is necessarily therefore more or less doctrinal in its character. For example, the faith of many is an acceptance of Christ as a substitute, on the ground that he bore the proper penalty of our sins, and that our punishment is therefore remitted. A rigidly doctrinal statement enters into the faith itself as its very substance. And from this there is a descent, or an ascent, to the simplest faith in Jesus' moral teaching and example. Moreover, it is contended that there is authoritative teaching in regard to the constitution and the rites of the church, which the church is bound to follow and maintain. The lines of division, accordingly, are fundamental and necessary, and the principle of sectarianism is, to have a pure church rather than an inclusive, broad, church, one that shall embody and promulgate the whole truth, instead of reducing its creed to that minimum where all can agree.

The answer to this is, that it is indeed the office of the church to find and defend the truth, — this ought to be done more zealously even than it is now, — but that this is the work of the whole body acting together, not of contending and divided factions. The very spirit needed for the proper performance of the task is lost, as things are now. A church that has for its very idea to defend certain opinions is not in a condition to discover or receive the truth. Again, while there are these differences in the faith itself, there is an essential element in which all the different varieties agree, and which is the true test of their genuineness. All genuine faith introduces Christ as a saving and purifying power into the life, and it is just this quality and effect of faith that stamp its genuineness. "By their fruits ye shall know them," says Jesus; and, "Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father that is in heaven." All other tests of faith divide Christians, but this distinguishes all alike, and divides only the true from the false. But the application of doctrinal tests to faith is not only divisive, but every way hurtful. Historically, nothing is more certain than that proscription of honest opinion by the church has been its worst bane. It has fettered that free thought and search for truth which is man's only path to knowledge; it has done much to stimulate the partisan, and to stifle the scientific spirit, in the department of theology; it has fostered hate and bitterness among the followers of the prince of peace; and who can doubt that it has hindered the workings of that Spirit who is to lead us into all

the truth? Let us hope that the church may be led into that better way of discussion and investigation which shall not seek to label opinions, but freely to compare them, and that shall honor as its true servants all men in whom are found honesty, open-mindedness, and spirituality, rather than the upholders of this or that opinion. This is what the church will do, but it is fatal to the sects.

And as for the constitution and government of the church, it is not true that the New Testament prescribes any form. But supposing that it did so prescribe, this would belong to the outward, which the genius of Christianity expressly subordinates to the inward and spiritual. In any case, therefore, which should make this outward form of the church conflict with that unity which is its spiritual quality there ought to be no question which shall give way.

Our proposition is, therefore, that the church is the Christian community; that in any community the church is the whole body of believers, to which the confession of faith itself admits them. This appears from the fact that this is the original form of the church, and that it is based on a fundamental principle. From this follow certain important conclusions.

In the first place, it creates strange confusion to give the name of church to a body quite different from that to which it originally belonged. We find ourselves giving attributes and functions to one thing that really belong to another. For instance, men say gravely that the church is independent; meaning by this the local church of our time. Whereas, if the statement is true at all, it is true only of the very different body to which the name was applied originally. It is almost certain that the apostolic churches were subject to the authority of the apostles, and also, to a certain extent, to the church at Jerusalem. But there was, almost as certainly, a growth towards autonomy. But however this may be, it was the church consisting of the entire religious community, and not some isolated fraction of it, to which this independence belonged. There were smaller congregations gathered for purposes of worship, to which the name of church was sometimes applied. But these were not regarded as having a separate existence, but were always strictly subordinate to the larger body, the real church, to which they belonged. That is to say, what we should call a church now was not independent, but subordinate to the real church.

Right here belongs a statement in regard to the purpose of a

church. Our churches are organized for worship; at least that is their controlling idea. But evidently, the organizing idea of what we have considered the real church is the expression of a common life, and the work of a great brotherhood. The Christian community is organized, and in fact exists, to build up its members, and to evangelize the rest of the community and the world. For purposes of worship it may be divided, but for all other purposes it preserves its unity. This is a consideration that may be found of much use in a practical solution of the difficulties of the situation. For in all our large communities the existence of several churches might easily be reconciled with the existence of one church and a practical unity. These churches might continue their present relations and work, and still find room for the work of an organized and united Christian community. One of the great difficulties of the present situation is, that no matter how numerous may be the churches in any community, they do not cover the ground, simply because they do not act in concert. Here, then, is to be found the sphere of the one Christian church in conjunction with the several denominational churches. Under the auspices of the united churches, the city can be divided into parishes, each of which shall belong to one of the individual churches, and be cared for by it. There is no necessity that this care should be sectarian or proselyting in its character. All that would be necessary is to see that the unattached, or, as we say, unchurched people in that locality be cared for by somebody. Another part of the same work would be to direct the missionary and charitable operations of the churches, which, to speak charitably, are now performed only fitfully and partially. Who can fail to see that under such supervision all this work would be done with almost indefinitely increased wisdom and efficiency? Further, the churches being brought together in this way, an opportunity would be afforded for that amicable discussion of differences and of current questions that is every way so desirable. And, in fact, the way being once open, there is no telling how the work and the gain would accumulate on the hands of such an organization. And meantime all the operations of the individual churches would be unmolested, nay, much increased rather. To be sure, this would not realize the idea of the church, the unity of the body of Christ, but it is a step in the right direction. Once given the desire for unity, and such a scheme would give the means for at least a partial realization of it.

But it is when we come to the smaller communities, and to the missionary work of the church, that the chief disadvantage of divi-

sion appears. It would seem as if merely practical considerations, aside from all theories of the constitution of the church, must soon lead to a radical change here. For in these smaller communities, division positively hinders and cripples the work of the church, making it impossible to do anything effectively. Any one familiar with the rural communities of New England knows that a marked feature of them is the meagreness and poverty of the churches. And the cause is not far to seek. The effect is as natural and inevitable as in any case of overcrowding and excessive competition. You cannot have six stores in such a place, and for the same reason you ought not to have a church for each of the leading sects. A large community may afford the luxury of denominations with churches to correspond. For a division into congregations for purposes of worship is necessary in any such community. And this division may be on denominational lines as well as otherwise, on merely economical grounds. But in a small community, such as a country village, no division is possible consistently with prosperity, and consequently the present state of things — several churches instead of one — is a sacrifice of Christianity to denominationalism. Denominationalism is itself a crime, but this sacrifice on its altar is worse — it is a blunder. There are very few such places where union would not produce prosperity — comfort for the church, and a fair living for the pastor. But now country churches are mostly bare and unsightly and cheerless for lack of means, and a country pastor is too often an object of just pity. The writer used to wonder at the financial skill that enabled many of these men to live and bring up large families, and send their boys to college, on salaries that would starve most of us. But he knows now that something akin to starvation makes a part of the process. And he becomes almost fierce when he thinks that all this is due to the narrowness and unwisdom of sectarianism. But these economic considerations are far from being all that weigh against denominationalism in these small places. The charm of such communities is their common life, which even class distinctions, commonly so potent, are not able to efface. And religion ought to be the great ally of this wholesome influence. But instead of this, Christianity, with its divided interests and jealousies, is the great means of splitting the community up into cliques and factions. People who, without the churches, would be together and have all things common are now largely indifferent to each other, because the great overshadowing interest of religion proclaims that their religious differences are too great for them to dwell together within the same church.

And all this is even more noticeable and deplorable in the home mission work of the church, where the communities are small on account of the fact that they are pioneer settlements, and where therefore the work of the church is also pioneer work. For there the task of Christianity is not simply to confirm what has been already established, but to plant religion in places where almost everything is unfavorable, and where therefore all hindrances on the side of Christianity itself ought to be carefully removed. But these places where Christianity ought to be doing its most effective work are made the scenes, instead, of an unseemly scramble for denominational superiority, in which the thought of the supreme conflict between good and evil is almost overshadowed by the rivalry between sects, separated by comparatively small differences, but, alas, by strong feelings. It ought to become the motto of our missionary societies, that not a cent shall be spent to establish a church of one sect where the field is already occupied by another, and where, therefore, the demand is sectarian and not Christian. A good test of this would be the question whether the society would establish another church there, if the church already on the ground was of its own denomination. In this matter it would be wise for our home mission boards to follow the policy of their brethren in the foreign work, and adopt a principle of denominational comity, namely, that a field which is pre-empted by one denomination shall not be invaded by another.

In the rural communities of our older states, the remedy is not so apparent, so long as the principle of denominationalism is admitted. For in these the excess of churches already exists, and is hard to overcome. The property acquired is useless for other purposes, and is therefore hard to dispose of. The churches would find it a burden to the flesh either to unite or to merge the smaller churches in what chanced to be the largest. The denominational principle is too strong to allow this, and it seems clear that the only way out is to overcome that principle. Each denomination has the feeling that it is right, and that the only way to maintain its tenets is to keep up its organization. But suppose that we test this by an analogy. Is the only way to maintain a school of thought in philosophy, for instance, to found separate schools in which it shall be taught? Does not this already suggest the thought of weakness? Is not the real view that the thing to be sought is the truth rather than any triumph of cherished opinion, and that the way to secure this is to gain that comparison of views which would result from the provision for the teaching of

all in the one school? And is not the freedom that would result — freedom for the teacher to seek without fear for the truth, and to teach his view when he finds it or forms it — the only way to secure loyalty to truth, instead of opinion. But the same principle that seems so obvious here is equally applicable to religious matters. Here, too, the only way to secure the proper and allowable victory for an opinion is to assert it in the one church where opposing views are allowed equal right of expression, and where the truth shall be given the opportunity to vindicate itself by its greater probability, and its power to win ingenuous minds to its support. Pride of opinion is the great obstacle to the discovery of truth, and yet it is this, rather than devotion to principle, that is fostered by denominationalism. It is scarcely even pride of opinion. For that is hardly worthy the name of opinion that is simply an inheritance from our fathers, and is kept like a hot-house plant, by careful sheltering from the winds of opinion. As it is, we are simply bolstered in our own opinions, and are given the opportunity neither to correct them by comparison with others nor to propagate them by free intercourse with other men. Proselyting is justly condemned so long as it means severing connections and building up one denomination at the expense of another. But to win other men to your opinions is not in itself degrading, but ennobling. Discussion of differences would be now one of the best means of bringing men together, if it could be done in a spirit of fairness and courtesy. But the claim of orthodoxy is the great stifler of discussion. Men find it hard to discuss, with that assumption facing them.

Now, so long as this conscientious adherence to sect remains, it will be hard to deal with the problems of our smaller village communities. And this, but also all other aspects of the question, demand that we let in all the light possible. It is no time, and this is no question, for a timid, time-serving policy. There are questions that can afford to wait, but this is not one of them. The sooner those who believe in unity say what they have to say, and the more broadly and persistently they say it, the more light they shed upon it from every side; the better it will be for the cause of religion in the world. Really, the great obstacle in the minds of many is the *vis inertiae*, — the feeling that while things might be bettered, the difficulties are too great, and all action is really impracticable. And it is true, the difficulties are great, but not insuperable. Such as they are, now is the time to meet them, when the question is in the air. The time to discuss a question is

when men are thinking of it. That is the intimation of the Spirit — of the *Zeitgeist*, if you will — that the way is preparing for the advance of human life in that special direction. Some think that time alone will accomplish these changes, without any human interference. But time does not do these things alone. Time has no spiritual energy in itself; but the times do have that power, and one of the constituent elements of it is the discussion of these current topics. It is both a sign and a factor of the times. We who believe in the Spirit attribute much of the working in men's minds to his silent influence. But he does not work alone, only in conjunction with the minds that he illuminates, and the movement spreads as these illuminated minds spread it. We have come as far as we have in the discussion of this question because men illuminated have agitated; and we shall go on to the final adjustment of it in the same way. What needs to be done is to create the desire for unity, and given the desire for that, all practical difficulties would vanish, not suddenly, to be sure, but by the constant pressure of minds really in earnest in solving a problem.

Quite recently, there was an article in one of our religious papers giving the experience and feelings of a city pastor whose aim was to build up a church that should take an intelligent interest in the general religious work of the city in which it was located, and in outside missionary work, but who had to contend against the feeling in his people that they cared for nothing more than simply to build up their own church. They wanted good preaching, good music, a fine church-building, and that was all. It is to be feared that this is the low standard of many churches. And it is the direct fruit of that view that we have been combating. When once it shall be seen that the church is the Christian community, and that these individual congregations are simply parts of that, having no independent existence, or rights, such narrowness will be as impossible as in any missionary organization.

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EDITORIAL.

THEOLOGICAL PESSIMISM.

Pessimism, in general, is the opinion that society is gradually or rapidly becoming worse. In some instances it is the more moderate opinion that society is neither becoming nor likely to become better than it is at present. This discouraged conclusion is reached in view of evil forces in the world, which, it is believed, are gaining, or certainly are not losing, power.

Theological pessimism has in view the forces which are relied on for the recovery of society from the bad tendencies which prevail, and believes either that those forces, in any available employment of them, are inadequate for the regeneration of society, or that the character of those forces is so gravely misunderstood that the power they might have is practically withheld from the perverted social and individual life of to-day. It is either thought that the gospel of Christ, so long as it works only along the line of motive and influence, will be unsuccessful as against the moral corruption which prevails, or it is maintained that theories of the gospel, in the minds of many who are accredited as preachers of Christianity, are so distorted and erroneous that its legitimate power against sin is reduced below the point of actual efficiency. It is to the latter phase of theological pessimism that we now direct attention. On the opinion that the gospel is inadequate, while working as motive and influence, to regenerate society, we will not comment, except to observe, for the sake of explicitness, that a common form of it is the expectation of extraordinary events, particularly at the second coming of Christ, which will confound wickedness and establish the kingdom of God on immovable foundations. It is not believed that the kingdom of God has already come. There is little faith in the grace of Christ as it is already manifested through the agencies of truth and love, but in reality dependence is placed on an act of omnipotence visible to the eyes, the energy of Almighty power crashing in among men, to deliver the world from the growing power of evil. Premillenarianism, which regards the increasing wickedness of society as the sign and also the occasion of the visible coming of Christ, is at heart pessimistic in its thought of the bad tendencies of the times and of the ineffectiveness of the gospel under the dispensation of the Spirit.

The theological pessimism which we are now to consider finds in what is thought to be doctrinal unsoundness a danger so great as to threaten seriously the triumphs of the kingdom of God. If, it is urged, the gospel is not held in its purity and completeness, there is no reasonable hope that the world will be saved from the evils which are hastening its ruin. This pessimism, in a word, looks, not so much on the growing power of wickedness as on the declining power of a gospel concerning which current opinion is thought to be seriously incorrect. Error can be overcome,

it is argued, only by truth, but if error is met by error or by half truth, it is not weakened but strengthened. The most recent example of this sort of alarm is Mr. Spurgeon, who has withdrawn from the Baptist Union of Great Britain because some members, as he thinks, entertain defective and erroneous theological opinions. He retires from the Association, of course, not merely because there is a difference of abstract opinion, but because the opinions held are, in his judgment, almost fatal hindrances to success in the preaching and work of the church. He cannot sanction theories which seem to him to rob the gospel of its power to save men and purify society. He represents, if not in his extreme course of action, yet in his feeling of alarm, a considerable number of clergymen and laymen who are seriously disturbed by changes and modifications of doctrinal belief. This apprehension has in view, at the beginning, the importance of correct apprehension of religious truth in order that the gospel may do its proper work, but is quite likely to end in feeling a greater concern for correctness of opinion than for the redemption of men. Yet even when such disproportion exists, it is to be admitted that jealous regard for purity of doctrine is rooted in a deep concern for the kingdom of God. It must also be admitted that false views and false teachers have at various times done great injury, and that suitable precautions should be taken to prevent the dissemination of error, especially under the shelter of the gospel. No one will deny that the weapons of spiritual warfare should be keen and polished, never dull and rusty. Purity, comprehensiveness, and right proportion of belief are of the first importance.

But alarm is not always well grounded. The gospel is not limited to a single mode of apprehension. Two sincere men may differ in what seem to be important respects, while neither of them is wholly right nor wholly wrong and both hold to the essential truth of salvation. There is a working of the Spirit of God, through imperfect knowledge of truth, which is not wholly dependent on intellectual perceptions. One needs to have a profoundly reasoned theology to be sure that he has more of the vital truth of the gospel in his doctrinal opinions than other men have in theirs. Extreme Calvinism, such as Mr. Spurgeon adheres to, does not find it easy to gain sympathetic insight into systems of belief which follow different lines of reasoning, but it is incumbent even on a Calvinist to remember that there are diversities of ministrations but the same Lord, and diversities of workings but the same God who worketh all things in all. We would therefore set over against that jealousy of doctrinal purity which is in danger now as it has so often been in the past of running to extremes, certain considerations which should be clearly in view before the conclusion is reached that current phases of theological opinion are foreign or hostile to the gospel of Christ.

One should be certain that he is not prompted by a suspicious and condemnatory spirit. The assumption should not be made that religious teachers *wish* to minimize the doctrines of Christianity. It should not be

taken for granted that hardness of heart is influential in reducing the asperity of religious truth, and that certain theories are abandoned because they are disagreeable to the natural man. The proper assumption is that the professed disciples of Christ are honest searchers after truth. Nothing but unmistakable evidence to the contrary should be allowed to suggest aspersions of motives. Yet when theological pessimism engages in argument, the omission of attack on motives would usually be a serious reduction of material for debate.

It should be remembered that the formulated opinions of men are seldom the exact measure of their real convictions. A dozen men may advocate the same theological statements, while the possession of truth as motive in character is in a dozen different ratios. One and the same person may hold a set of doctrinal theories without substantial change for years together while his appropriation of spiritual force is constantly augmenting. Men may subscribe to doctrines which are mutually inconsistent while character is developing symmetrically under those elements of truth which have become indispensable to spiritual life. What is true of personal character is true of preaching. Opinions which are entertained to satisfy the logical or speculative faculty may not prove to be effective for persuasion, and so may have no appreciable place in the influence of the pulpit. It is usually the case that ministers of the gospel whose principal study of truth is with a view to its availability as motive are divergent in opinion at points which are only incidental to their absorbing thought.

One who does not approve opinions which are different from his own and is apprehensive that such opinions reduce the power of the gospel should consider, for his comfort, that the actual relation of truths is not precisely the relation in which men arrange them in doctrinal systems. If one doctrine is given up or modified it seems to some as if all the doctrines must go with it or must be weakened. This or that doctrine, it is said, is central or fundamental. With one it is native depravity, as was argued by Dr. Daniel Dana forty years ago when he was disturbed about the teaching in Andover Seminary. He believed that the whole superstructure of Christianity rested on the fact of original sin. With another it is a particular theory of atonement, as Mr. Spurgeon maintains when he says, "Where Christ is not received as to the cleansing power of His blood, and the justifying merit of His righteousness, He is not received at all." Now it is the plenary inspiration of the Bible, now the sovereignty of moral law, and now the decisiveness of this earthly life for all the children of men, which is made central. Therefore theological alarmists are always found contending, as on the platform of the American Board at Springfield, that the weakening of one doctrine impairs of necessity the entire system, that a given opinion, even concerning the mysteries of destiny, involves error concerning the state and need of man, the person and work of Christ, and the very existence of God. It is, indeed, sometimes

the case that imperfection at one point indicates general unsoundness or disease. But it is also frequently the case that an individual has his doctrinal hobby, his "pet heresy," his unsupported belief, which survives as an excrescence quite distinct from the great body of truth which he cordially accepts. And besides, on a broad survey of the working of the gospel it is found that the actual relation of its forces does not correspond with our notions of their mutual dependence. Christianity works with a sort of sublime inconsistency, singling out one truth and giving it a mighty propulsion into the life of a decade or a generation, almost to the exclusion and apparently to the contradiction of other truths. The doctrine of sovereignty carrying with it the doctrine of election practically disregarded human freedom and responsibility while it was occupied in emphasizing its great lesson of human dependence. The doctrine of justification by faith swept through Christendom with supreme indifference, for the time, to the development of character through human coöperation with God. The justice of God and the mercy of God have seemed to be antagonistic as one or the other has been a moving force in the thought of men. The mutual dependence of doctrines as we apprehend it, working Christianity has not been careful to observe. When a fresh conception of the gospel has been gained, it has usually been as a wide and even violent departure from accepted belief. How easy it would have been to argue that divergence at a single point meant the overthrow of the whole system of doctrine. Luther's free and easy notions about the inspiration of the Bible, if they were presented to some of our contemporary alarmists who had no knowledge of their source, would be opposed on the ground that such opinions involve the abandonment of all the essential doctrines of the gospel. It would be said, with the Puritan who refused to believe that the Hebrew and Greek text and even the translations of the Bible were not literally inspired, that "these considerations let in Atheism like a flood." The point is that an incorrect opinion may be held without loosening one's hold on the dominant truths of the gospel, and that the great moral forces of Christianity work sometimes with an apparent indifference to order and dependence, so that our neatly jointed systems of opinion undergo perpetual surprise.

There may also be a failure to apprehend the relative influence of opinion and consolidated Christian life. The power of truth resides in institutions, customs, moral and social standards, worship, and missionary enterprises, which hold their way without undergoing rapid disturbance on account of the reasonings of controversy. Even palpable error which may seem to spread widely spends its force and evaporates without abating the strength of solidified Christian custom. New opinions, even when they are correct, make their way slowly, and are influential only when they have passed beyond the province of thinking into the province of motive. We do not mean that thought and life are separate, but that alarmists do not sufficiently consider (nor, for that matter zealous doctrinaires of any

school,) the stability of Christian character, customs, and institutions, nor the great variety of agencies, of which theological discussion is only one, by which the kingdom of God in society is affected.

Modern skepticism has been nourished in part by doctrinal theories which are too narrow to embrace the facts of life and the realities of the divine government. Those who are suspicious of all changes in theology should be reminded that one reason for more comprehensive views is that unbelief may be met with all the advantage of reasonableness in doctrine. It is felt by many Christian thinkers that nothing is more important for the acceptance of the gospel than to disabuse people of those prejudices which have been created by narrow and inadequate representations of Christianity. Mr. Spurgeon is in the habit of treating the skepticism of educated men with contempt, attributing it to moral rather than intellectual causes. He thinks that honest men should find no difficulty in believing Calvinism of the most highly accentuated type, and, apparently, for the very convincing reason that he himself finds no difficulty in believing it. Perhaps he and others who think with him have never reflected that some of the changes in opinion which are deplored are the result of intelligent, or at least honest, attempts to disencumber Christianity of interpretations which are no part of it so that it may stand forth in the power of its own simple yet profound reality. The force of popular harangues against the Bible would be vastly reduced if correct theories of its origin, growth, inspiration, and authority were generally accepted. Opposition to the doctrine of retribution would lose its occasion if certain types of theology should cease to separate retribution from opportunity, ability, and responsibility. It is not the skeptic without but the skeptic within who is challenging dogmas which are perplexing and unreasonable. One's own reason and moral sense rise up in rebellion against arbitrary schemes of doctrine, which shut man up in an iron cage. Many a man whom the theological pessimist suspects and condemns is really making room in his theories for that reasonable interpretation of truth in which alone he can have the freedom of a Christian man.

We will not take space to indicate the failure of alarmists to distinguish non-essentials from essentials, as when theories of inspiration are made as important as the revelation of truth, theories of atonement of as much consequence as the great facts of forgiveness and reconciliation, opinions concerning the universal decisiveness of the earthly life as essential as redemption from sin through faith in Christ. Nor will we dwell on the opening so often coming to expression that the theology of the past was nearer the truth than the theology of the present. Such a judgment betrays ignorance of the historical development of doctrine, and suggests that phrase of Mr. Lowell's concerning those who persist in translating Jehovah by "I was" instead of "I am."

It may be objected that those who adopt new views in theology are unfriendly to the old, and that they deride conservatism as unequal to the task of overcoming error and sin in their modern forms. We will not

contend that the mere holding of opinions which have most reason and gospel in them will surely prevent narrow judgments. But we cannot fail to observe that the so-called advanced theologians are ready to coöperate with those more conservative, as the conservative are not ready to coöperate with them. The new, on the whole, sees good in the old, as the old does not in the new. The new has the historic spirit, but the old often lacks the prophetic spirit.

We are not unqualified optimists. Bald optimism, which sees nothing to deplore, lowers the ideal of individual and social character till it becomes identical with the actual state of things. But we are Christian optimists. We would not underestimate the gravity of existing evil, but we believe that the gospel of Christ, as honest men are able to apprehend and present it, is sufficient for the renovation of the world. And we believe that, although the kingdom is yet far from its realization, it is already here, and is making substantial progress towards the consummation. Sin abounds, but we devoutly believe that grace much more abounds. Christian pessimism is a contradiction in terms. What reason has one for being a Christian, if he supposes the world is continually growing worse, and that the gospel, as men are likely to understand it, gives no promise of creating a new heaven and a new earth in which dwelleth righteousness? When Elijah supposed that he was the only man in the kingdom who was sound in the faith, the reply was made that there were seven thousand in Israel who had not joined in the worship of Baal. When preachers suppose that the gospel must be looked at from their particular point of view to be understood properly, and that otherwise it becomes of none effect, they might profitably ponder that incident in the life of the ancient prophet.

Pessimism is ignorance. Christian optimism is true wisdom comprehending God's plan somewhat according to its breadth and length and height and depth. Dr. Dorner in his work on Christian Ethics most felicitously observes, "Thus true wisdom is the same as Christian hope, which is neither ignorance concerning the future, nor uncertainty and mere empty desire, but is the principle of that true Christian view of the world which is quickened by love into fruitful activity."

THE READJUSTMENT OF CITY CHURCHES.

THE life of a modern city church of the family type seldom covers more than one, or at most, two generations. The social conditions which prescribe its location, determine its character, and give to it outward prosperity, change with the changes of the town. The town moves on, breaking up old social centres, and establishing new ones, and the church finds itself confronted by the problem of its existence.

There are but two ways by which a city church can be assured of permanency. A sufficient fund may extend its life indefinitely. This usually comes in through some inheritance in real estate, which appreciates with

the growth of the city, and by its appreciation allows the church to extend its work. Trinity Church of New York is the most conspicuous example of the class of endowed churches in this country — a church which is able to maintain itself in full vigor upon its original site at the head of Wall Street, while it builds one chapel in Houston Street, adapted in every way to that neighborhood, and another in West Twenty-fifth Street, for those who would naturally, but for the distance, attend service at the original home.

A church may also renew its life, after having served its generation as a family church, by readjusting itself to the new social conditions in which it is placed. The most striking example of this method of perpetuating the life of a church is to be found in the recovery of St. George's Church — that of the elder Dr. Tyng, Stuyvesant Square, New York — under the leadership of the Rev. Mr. Rainsford. An experiment of a like nature is about to be tried, with every promise of success, by the Berkeley Street Congregational Church of Boston under the guidance and direction of the Rev. Mr. Dickinson, recently called to the pastorate of the church. The Berkeley Street Church, originally the Pine Street Church, organized in 1827, and located at the corner of Pine and Washington streets, took its present name at the time of the removal to Berkeley Street, in 1861. It was then designed to make the church a church for the people, but a comparatively heavy debt greatly embarrassed the enterprise for many years. The aim, however, was not lost sight of under the pastorates of the Rev. H. M. Dexter, D. D., and the Rev. William B. Wright, who divided the time of pastoral service almost equally between them. A body of earnest and faithful Christian workers was trained, and most efficient service has been rendered in many directions. The church, as it is, offers a most effective nucleus for future work. The present membership of the Church is 310; that of the Sabbath School 325; and that of the Society of Christian Endeavor 70. The Rev. Mr. Wright resigned his pastorate in the Spring of 1887. Upon his resignation, which was most reluctantly accepted, the church had the option of merging itself in the life of some other church, or of reconstructing itself for a larger and more evangelistic type of work. After careful deliberation it was decided to take the latter course. A call was extended to the Rev. Charles A. Dickinson, of the Kirk Street Church, Lowell, who had taken great interest in the kind of service proposed, and, upon his acceptance of the call, pastor and church united in their efforts to secure sufficient funds for inaugurating the movement. The result was most gratifying, not only as giving the sum needed, but as revealing the heartiness of feeling in the community in favor of the change. Five thousand dollars was pledged by the Church; \$5,000 was granted from the Swett Fund for city evangelization in charge of the State Missionary Society; \$3,000 from the Old South Church, and \$3,000 additional from members of that church; \$2,000 from the Central Church; \$500 from a member of the Mt. Vernon Church, and \$1,500 from per-

sons in the "Youth's Companion" office, representing most generously the interest of the Baptist denomination. It is understood that these amounts are pledged for three years. About \$5,000 will be taken for repairs, leaving \$15,000 for the immediate use of the church according to its new plans. The pastor, who is to enter upon service in April, 1888, has already outlined the course to be taken, and made general arrangements for the proposed work.

The action of the Berkeley Street Church, with its promise of success, suggests some of the conditions necessary to the successful readjustment of a church to its surroundings. Not every city church which has suffered by changes in population can expect to renew its life by this method. Probably the best course to be taken, in the majority of cases, is that which is actually taken, namely, for the church which is dependent upon the social movement of the town to move with it. Some churches linger behind until they become too weak to move. Nothing then remains but for one weak church to unite with another in the same neighborhood, and thus secure a longer or shorter respite, with the question, however, of removal or death still before them. But, when the conditions are favorable to readjustment, a noble career is open to the church which attempts it.

These conditions are: First, a site easily and conveniently accessible; not central, of necessity, to the immediate neighborhood, but accessible from different points. It is desirable that the site should command the use of several lines of horse railroads, as the neighborhood will represent a somewhat transient population. The new membership of the church may, after a little, become widely scattered, yet it must be retained for the good of the membership no less than for the enthusiasm of the enterprise.

Second, a disposition on the part of the church enthusiastically in favor of the change. In some churches the true spirit of hospitality has never existed. If this is the case it cannot be assumed for the emergency. It will be seen that the change is attempted to save the fortunes of a declining church, not to reach and save men. It is far better that a church of this type should move or die, than that it should attempt to occupy the ground which it is unfitted to cultivate. A new church, without the embarrassment of traditions which restrain and repel, may succeed when this will surely fail. One of the chief assurances of success in the Berkeley Street movement lies in the natural and genuine hospitality of the congregation. Strangers have been more than welcomed, they have been made at home. All who have identified themselves with the church have been given a place in its work and invited to its fullest fellowship.

Third, the substantial coöperation of neighboring churches, or of those in denominational or evangelical fellowship. We use the term evangelical in its original sense. The sympathy must be for that which is evangelistic in the proposed work. Evangelism is the form and the substance of the new life of the church. This coöperation is necessary, for the change

involves great expense. It must be at once understood that the cost of maintaining and extending the church in its new relations will greatly exceed that of its former condition. Costly as the effort may seem to be to satisfy the demands of a congregation of high mental and spiritual culture, the effort to reach and benefit the outlying masses is far more costly. The work requires not only the full energies of the membership, but a vast amount of special labor. The church is now a church of the week as well as of the Sabbath. It is a church of all classes, and for all legitimate uses, as well as for one class having but a single use for a church. The variety of interests to be considered calls for varied and constant service. Volunteer labor will not suffice. Laborers must be employed in considerable number who can give their entire time, and invention and strength to the work in hand. As has been seen, the Berkeley Street Church enters upon its new course with at least \$15,000 a year pledged for three years. This is none too much, though probably it is enough. Whatever more may be needed may be expected to come from the increased capacity of the church and congregation.

Fourth, Inspiring leadership: leadership which takes easy and natural command, single in purpose but broad in its scope and fertile in resources, capable of organizing rather than of simply introducing machinery, and, above all, able to awaken, sustain, and utilize the consecrated enthusiasm of the church. Preaching is assumed: it is part of leadership. But the organizing, controlling, inspiring element must be added in conspicuous degree. We may expect from the broad and enthusiastic leadership to which the Berkeley Street Church has committed itself, no less than from its loyalty to its own spirit, results which will be instructive in the art of readjusting the life of a church to its changed surroundings.

And why may not this and like experiments gain additional strength and stability through the means of permanency to which we referred at the beginning — endowment. It is a mistaken idea that the working funds of a church must be drawn entirely from current sources. The great endowed churches of England are centres of wide and useful activity. It is the mingling of the constant and fixed quantity derived from an assured income, with the more elastic quantity which comes from the present benevolence, which gives the most steadiness and breadth to the work of a church. A fund set apart for work, consecrated to a particular service, like the chair of an educational institution, is a perpetual benefaction. Why should it be feared in the practical administration of the local church? The church-building itself is of the nature of a fund. What the city needs most in the life of its churches is stability and expansion. Why may we not give stability through endowment, and expansion through the current charity. So long as the churches rely entirely upon the gifts of the living, they will be migratory, following the social life of the town. Let us *found* some of our churches, which are best able to serve the present, for the service of coming generations.

THE DEBATE ON ISLAMISM.

AT the last Church Congress in England the Rev. Canon Isaac Taylor, LL. D., read a paper on "Mahommedanism" which has stirred up a vigorous and extensive debate. The Canon's main contention is that in Asia and Africa Islamism is a more successful missionary religion than Christianity. It advances at a more rapid rate. It holds all that it wins. In some regions it actually beats back Christianity. It is a better religion for rude tribes. Christianity is "too spiritual, too lofty." The Jews, the most susceptible of all races to high religious ideas, needed a long preparatory training before the gospel could be preached to them. What can be expected of the debased tribes of Africa? Islamism is a "reformed Judaism." It is more than this, Canon Taylor pleads. He says:—

"Islam was a replica of the faith of Abraham and Moses with Christian elements. Judaism was exclusive. Islam is cosmopolitan. . . . Moslems acknowledge four great teachers—Abraham, the friend of God; Moses, the prophet of God; the Lord Jesus, the work of God; and Mahomed, the apostle of God. In the creed of Islam the Lord Jesus stands the highest of the four. Though the teaching of Mahomed falls grievously short of the teaching of St. Paul, there is nothing in it antagonistic to Christianity. It is midway between Judaism and Christianity. It is better than Judaism, inasmuch as it recognizes the miracles and the Messiahship of Jesus Christ. This reformed Judaism swept so swiftly over Africa and Asia because the African and Syrian doctors had substituted abstruse metaphysical dogmas for the religion of Christ. They tried to combat licentiousness by celibacy and virginity. . . . The people were practically polytheists, worshipping a crowd of martyrs, saints and angels. Islam swept away this mass of corruption and superstition. It was a revolt against empty theological polemics; it was a masculine protest against the exaltation of celibacy as the crown of piety. It brought out the fundamental dogma of religion—the unity and greatness of God. It replaced monkliness by manliness. It gave hope to the slave, brotherhood to mankind, and recognition to the fundamental facts of human nature. The higher Christian virtues—humility, purity of heart, forgiveness of injuries, sacrifice of self—these are not the virtues of Islam. The Christian ideal is unintelligible to savages; but the lower virtues which Islam inculcates are what the lower races can be taught to understand—temperance, cleanliness, chastity, justice, fortitude, courage, benevolence, hospitality, veracity and resignation. They can be taught to cultivate the four cardinal virtues, and to abjure the seven deadly sins. The Christian ideal of the brotherhood of men is the highest; but Islam preaches a practical brotherhood—the social equality of all Moslems. This is the great bribe which Islam offers. The convert is admitted at once to an exclusive social caste; he becomes a member of a vast confraternity of 150,000,000. A Christian convert is not regarded as a social equal, but the Moslem brotherhood is a reality. We have overmuch 'dearly beloved brethren' in the reading desk, but over-little in daily life. . . . Islam has abolished drunkenness, gambling and prostitution—the three curses of Christian lands. Islam is the closest approach to Christianity which has been able to take hold of Eastern or Southern nations. It is superior to the grovelling superstition of the Coptic and Abyssinian churches. Moslems are already imperfect Christians; let us try to perfect their religion rather than vainly endeavor to destroy it, and we may

possibly transform Islam into Christianity. Thus we may find that in God's scheme Mahomet has been preparing the way for Christ."

This paper Canon Taylor has followed up by several letters called out by attacks upon his positions. In his first letter he claimed that Mohammedanism is advancing in India nearly ten times as fast as Christianity, that in the Moslem lands — Palestine, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt — the results of the labors of the Church Missionary Society "are practically *nil*." The second letter adduced testimonies to the rapid progress of Islamism in Central and Western Africa. Negro proselytes "are numbered by the thousands for every Christian ten." Emphatic testimony is also adduced to the elevating influence of Mohammedanism upon the savage tribes. Its success with the Bantu tribes is comparatively slight; but for "the true negroes of Nigritia, whose cerebral development is far lower, the creed of Islam would, for the present, appear to be the highest form of faith which they can attain and retain." The Canon's conclusion we understand to be that Christian missions, at least as at present conducted, to these "true negroes," as well as to the Moslems of Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia, "might as well be given up." In his third letter the writer acknowledged an error in his use of Indian statistics, — a mistake into which, in fact or in principle, at least two of his well-informed critics also fell, — but claimed that the corrected statement strengthened his estimate of the superior rapidity of the Moslem advance. He cited also a sweeping indictment of native African pastors and teachers published by Mr. H. H. Johnston in the November number of the "Nineteenth Century." In a final letter, too long to be summarized here, the Canon replied to his critics, mainly by adducing additional witnesses or testimonies. We will quote his closing words as the best expression of his purpose: —

"We must, in short, adapt our methods to our materials. The church of Central Africa, if it is ever to come into existence, will have to be something very different from the Church of England, and the sooner we recognize this the better. It will take many generations, I might almost say many centuries, to outroot the hereditary savagery and animism of anthropoidal cannibals; it can only be by slow degrees that, with their gross animal natures, they will be able to

'Rise upward, working out the beast
And let the ape and tiger die.'

Possibly the lower fanaticisms which have developed out of Protestantism or the superstitions which Rome has inherited from the ages of European barbarism may prove more successful in coping with African savagery than the sober worship and the scholarly Anglican theology which suits ourselves.

"In like manner I believe it is just because of the immense inferiority of Islam to Christianity that the followers of Mahomed have accomplished more for the civilization of the African than the followers of Christ. I do not despair of the conversion of Africa, but it must be the work of centuries, not of years. Meanwhile, let us not revile the work of those Moslems who succeed where we have failed, who teach the germs of manliness, if not of Godliness,

and who inculcate the precepts of a religion which, in its sublime monotheism and in its full recognition of the teaching and Divine mission of Jesus Christ, comes nearer than any other religion to our own. At all events it can do nothing but harm . . . to call it . . . 'a savage fanaticism,' and a 'base and brutal superstition.' Against the use of such phrases I most earnestly protest, in the name of that Christian charity which thinketh no evil, but rejoiceth in the truth."

The replies to Canon Taylor have been chiefly directed to two points — the relative progress of Mohammedanism and its moral influence.

1. *The Progress of Islam as compared with Christianity.*

As respects the Moslem lands, — Asiatic Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, — Canon Taylor's statements, so far as statistics go, are unchallenged. The results in known conversions of Moslems to Christianity are sadly meagre.

In India both religions have recruiting ground in the aboriginal tribes and in the devotees of Hindooism. According to a calculation which appears in the editorial columns of the London "Times," "In ten years Mahomedanism has made 3,000,000 converts in India, while Christianity has made only about a quarter of a million." This estimate is a reduction from Canon Taylor's first calculation of about one half. According to the tables in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," which omit the feudatory states in the final estimate, since these were not included in the figures for 1871, the increase is far less than 3,000,000, being only 3.08 per cent. over that of population. The claim, indeed, is made that "in quantity" Mohammedanism is scarcely gaining at all beyond the natural increase of population. Taking the estimate of the "Times," which has been accepted by Canon Taylor and which includes the feudatory states, the percentage of increase of the Christian population, according to the same journal, is double that of the Mohammedan. It remains true, however, that in 1881 there were more than fifty millions of Mohammedans in India to 2,148,228 Christians, and that by the census tables, the present advance of Islamism is beyond its natural gain. The tables in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" show a total gain to Mohammedanism in ten years (1871-81) of 4,460,392. The present native Protestant Christian population is said to exceed half a million.

The facts respecting Mohammedan progress in Africa are much more inaccessible than those in India. Canon Taylor said in his address that it "is spreading across Africa with giant strides. It has acquired a footing on the Congo and the Zambesi, while Uganda, the most powerful of the negro states, has just become Mahomedan." He claimed that it has subjected "more than half of the whole population of Africa." In his letters he paid special attention to Nigritia (the Soudan) and Western Africa. So far as we have observed, his critics take exception chiefly to his estimate of the influence of Islam in these regions and the methods by which it advances. The "Intelligencer" charges that he overrates its "present progress." The general fact, however, of a great, aggressive and successful movement of Islam upon Central Africa during the present

century is not questioned. Mr. R. Bosworth Smith concludes a careful review of the facts with these words: —

“It is hardly too much to say that one-half of the whole of Africa is already dominated by Islam, while, of the remaining half, one-quarter is leavened and another threatened by it. Such is the amazing, the portentous problem which Christianity and Civilisation have to face in Africa, and to which neither of them seems, as yet, half awake.”¹

As to the recession of Christianity before Islam, Canon Taylor appears to have been misled by erroneous statements respecting Sierra Leone.

2. *The Influence of Islam.* The Canon's opponents have mainly kept to the issue of fact, and have adduced more numerous and weighty testimonies than his. Joining issue on the virtues, Canon Taylor selects as proofs of the excellence of Islam, — not excepting even that of temperance, its strongest point, — they have shown not only that his strong assertions are not corroborated, but that the facts, in important particulars, require a reversal of judgment. Islam is not the success Canon Taylor maintains, even as respects the four cardinal virtues and the seven mortal sins. It has abolished, or greatly reduced, terrible evils, as Mr. Bosworth Smith claims, — infanticide, cannibalism, human sacrifice, sorcery. It confers important benefits. The individual rises in the scale of being. He gains a better social order and a higher religion. But, as the writer to whom we have just referred clearly shows, Canon Taylor fails to take account of the tremendous evils caused by the spread of Mohammedanism in Africa — the slave-trade, caste pride, religious wars, polygamy. There should be added the deadly evil of a prescribed and enforced moral and religious stationariness. It is at least an open question whether a negro converted to the faith of Islam is thereby helped on toward Christianity.

There is much in Canon Taylor's plea for Islam which appeals to a generous and charitable spirit. We quite agree with him that efforts to win converts should fully recognize what is common ground, and that pains should be taken to emphasize its Christian elements, and in every way to do justice to whatever good effects it may produce. Missionaries of all men should avoid railing accusations, and branding men collectively with the vices of a system. There are always, under false or imperfect systems, men who are better than their beliefs. Some are remarkably superior to the evils about them and in their traditions, and wonderfully assimilative of what is good. All effective Christian work for men requires an open eye for the individual, love for persons. There is need, in dealing with false religionists, of the charity to which Canon Taylor appeals. Yet charity, St. Paul teaches, “rejoiceth with the truth.” Mohammedanism is a system of belief and a polity. Its main influence will always be in the line of its essential character. We cannot accept without important qualification Canon Taylor's account of it.

¹ *The Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1887, p. 796.

He not only describes it as "a reformed Judaism," an "imperfect Christianity," but adds that the teaching of Mohammed contains "nothing antagonistic to Christianity." Such a representation seems to preclude argument. Take a single fact. Mohammedanism denies the cross. Jesus was never crucified, only his effigy. This is no accident of belief, no mere misunderstanding of a historical event. There is no room for the cross in the faith of Islam. From its conception of God to its doctrine of the last things, it is everywhere hostile to the cross whether as a symbol of expiation or of self-sacrificing holiness and love. In the Mohammedan "Traditions" it is predicted that Jesus at his second coming will "break the cross." Neither at the beginning nor the end of history, neither in the eternal counsel nor in Apocalyptic vision, nor in the sphere of motive to human recovery, does Mohammedanism leave any place for the "Lamb that was slain." When the crusaders put the cross on their banners they were guided by at least a true instinct; they emphasized an incontrovertible fact — the inherent and essential antagonism of the two systems.

It does not relieve the matter to recognize, with Canon Taylor, that Mohammed admits the miracles and Messiahship of Jesus. His interpretation of the Messiahship empties it of its vital historical contents. The Mohammedan Christ bears none of the sacred offices in any supreme way. He is no more a revealer of the Father, or universal Lord, than he is a sacrifice for the world's redemption. Were the Judaism that has rejected Jesus to accept Mohammedanism it would be no nearer than now to Christianity. In some respects it would be farther away. Islam is a "reformed Judaism," it is asserted, because Mohammed recognizes Jesus as the Messiah; but this overlooks the fact that it is neither the Jesus of Jewish prophecy, nor of authentic history whom Mohammed accepts, but a sublime prophet who announced "an apostle that shall come after me whose name shall be Ahmed." In the "Traditions," Jesus, on his return, is to die, and be buried with Mohammed, and "I and Jesus shall rise up from one place."

There is much truth in Canon Taylor's rationale of the early spread of Islamism. Something of Mohammed's tremendous earnestness must be credited to the sincerity of his revolt from a Christianity which was cherishing a thinly disguised idolatry. But if the corruption of Christianity explains the rise of Islam, why is it expedient, as Canon Taylor intimates, that Mohammedanism should be indefinitely perpetuated as a preparatory discipline for Christianity? Will not the preaching of a pure gospel make the continuance of Islam as unnecessary as that of Judaism?

We are unable, however, to regard Mohammedanism as mainly a protest against the abuse of Christianity. The faith of Islam is most emphatically a dogmatic faith. And among its essential dogmas stands, with the doctrine of the oneness of God, that of the Apostleship of Mohammed. His teachings in the Koran, and also a great mass of sayings and deeds traditionally attributed to him, are religiously authoritative. A

proselyte to Mohammedanism is converted into a positive enemy of Christianity. When an Indian outcast, in the hills, exchanges a sorcerer for a Brahman and is delivered from the fear of demons by a faith in the Hindoo gods, he makes a positive religious advance. So when an African savage forsakes Fetishism for Mohammedanism he comes under the power of a higher religious system. But in the latter case, as in no other transition to better though imperfect religious beliefs, he is committed to a faith consciously, purposely, and inflexibly hostile not merely to a corrupt or misunderstood Christianity, but to one that is genuine and vital. Mohammedanism is a post-Christian religion and claims to be a revelation with power of abrogation. Its sacred authorities are inspired to the letter. It admits of no progress beyond the dogmas and laws long ago sealed and delivered. It knows no personal spirit of revelation dwelling in the believer, proceeding from the Source of truth and opening more and more fully its treasures as human history advances. Its Bible is what some men would have us make our own to be, and its orthodoxy is a counterfeit and caricature of one that is genuinely Christian. It is this dogmatic and systematized resistance which it offers to progress, combined with its formulated antagonism to a pure Christianity, which compels us to anticipate far less benefit from it as a transitional religion than Canon Taylor expects. He seems to forget at the close of his paper his words in the beginning: "It is not the first propagation of Islam that has to be explained; but it is the permanency with which it retains its hold upon its converts. Christianity is less tenacious in its grasp. An African tribe once converted to Islam never reverts to paganism, and never embraces Christianity."

Canon Taylor's paper and letters are fitted to promote a most important end. They bring before the minds of Christians more distinctly and powerfully than has yet been done the missionary problems presented by Mohammedanism. To us they are the most stimulating pleas for greatly increased Christian missionary effort in Asia and Africa—not excepting distinctively Moslem lands, and especially Arabia—that we have read. The Mohammedan propaganda should not be allowed everywhere to have the first chance in Africa. Whatever benefits Islam may bring to savages, we cannot concede that it is a religion better adapted to their needs than the Christian. Nor is it a schoolmaster to lead to Christ, like Judaism, but a system, as already noticed, founded, in its own claim and practice, on a later revelation which is absolutely authoritative in its contradictions to the gospel. Practically it is a union of a religious code with the harem or the zenana, a law of works and self-righteousness, and defective in the fundamental principles and motives of a pure morality. Its progress may be a needed punishment, its advance in Africa brings some blessings, but none the less it is a curse which it requires an optimism indifferent to good and evil wholly to ignore.

The real question—we thank Canon Taylor for having raised it—is, how to meet Mohammedanism. The results of Christian missionary

effort thus far are meagre enough. We doubt if calling Moslems half Christians will help much. They know better. Certainly give them credit individually and collectively for all the truth they confess and all the good they do. But there is no Christianity that can conquer them save the faith which proclaims Christ and Him crucified. The offense of the cross is the power of God. Mohammedans are men, and they are not insensible to power. They have met the crusades of a superstitious Christianity, of force, of relentless dogmatism. They despise a Christianity orthodox as respects the Trinity and heterodox in morals and life, devoted to truth in religious dogma and abandoned to falsehood in trade. The theory of some is that Oriental Christianity must be reformed before missions to Moslems can succeed. The theory of others is, that Mohammedanism must be broken up as a political power before anything effective can be done. Meanwhile Providence is opening Africa, and we find Islam conquering to its Western shores. What will the Christian Church do about this?

Other scarcely less important inquiries raised by this discussion are questions of method. We cannot estimate the wisdom or success of missionary efforts by statistical returns or calculations of expense. Opportunities for work are to be more eagerly looked for than its returns. Results are with Him who commands his Church to evangelize the nations. But the problems of missionary work now demand the best thought, the largest intelligence, the most devoted piety available. The gospel is the same in substance for all, but the forms of its expression are most varied. Missionaries should be left free to adapt their message to those to whom they are sent. They should aim to secure Christian developments from the native converts. There has been too much (often unconscious) imposition of Western types of thought on Eastern minds, too much teaching of the gospel through theology, too much expectation of this by their supporters at home, too much dogmatic direction by Boards and Committees, too much jealousy of education as well as too much dependence on it. There is room for freer and larger tactics. The problems are various. Now it is the question how to deal with rude tribes — the leading question in Africa. Now it is the problem of an educated heathenism, or Mohammedanism, or corrupted Christianity. A recent very intelligent writer upon the religious condition of India suggests a great and urgent problem in Oriental missions when he remarks: "Instead of the perils of ignorance we are now face to face with the dangers of education."

WHITTIER'S EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY.

The good gray poet at Oak Knoll passed his eightieth birthday on the 17th of December, surrounded by all "which should accompany old age, as honor, love, obedience, and troops of friends." The honored chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, accompanied by his staff, turned aside

from the affairs of State to represent the loyal sentiment of Massachusetts toward her citizen of highest renown. Friends and neighbors, with men and women from abroad eminent in the field of literature, flocked around him in his simple home to grasp his hand in hearty congratulation. The school-children throughout the state filled their hearts and voices with his beautiful and inspiring verse. The colored people of the nation's capital, including the pupils in the colored schools, assembled in grateful recognition of what he had accomplished in the emancipation of their once oppressed and despised race. Even the South did not keep back her magnanimous praise. Secretary Lamar, a representative of the old slavery régime, nobly conceded that the spirit of Whittier's anti-slavery poetry was as free from malice and hatred as the gospel itself, while, at the same time, it was scorchingly severe upon the gigantic sin and shame of the national life. The enterprising literary editor of the "Boston Daily Advertiser" conceived the happy thought of concentrating in a single issue the sentiment which the poet's brothers and sisters in the world of letters cherished toward the Nestor of American Poets. The result was a notably rare and brilliant collection of admiring and affectionate tributes in prose and verse from prominent American writers. The public press all over the land enriched editorial columns with cordial and appreciative recognition of the noteworthy event. The eyes of the nation seemed, for the day, to be fixed upon the venerable figure with the gaze of mingled pride, love, and reverence. No word of envious detraction made discord in the expression of the common sentiment. The multitude of harmonious voices was only equalled by the spontaneity of the tributes of praise. It is too late for the coming of the woe upon him because of the well-speaking of all men. We only need to remind ourselves that that prophetic threat was warded off years ago, when curses both loud and deep were hurled upon the head of Whittier the hated Abolitionist.

The homage which has been recently paid him was most fitting, because it was homage most richly deserved. In the poet's sincere and grateful acknowledgment of the "Advertiser's" timely office, he disclaims, with characteristic modesty, any merit of genius or service that could afford sufficient cause for this outburst of affection and admiration. Nevertheless the popular heart will insist upon the truth and justice of its own estimate.

The people instinctively revere the character of this man of the people as a noble type of "plain living and high thinking." In his fourscore years, lived in stainless purity, in simplicity, modesty, earnestness, industry, and piety, they see a lofty example of American mind and character, and a model and inspiration for nobly aspiring American youth. They give unqualified admiration to his richly endowed lyrical genius, so completely in harmony with his grandly simple character. The heart of the people kindles at the touch of his passionate inspirations derived from the great, controlling ideas of Nature, Humanity, Patriotism, Liberty, and Religion. The unselfish, devoted service which he has rendered

during the sixty years of his literary life for the sweetening and hallowing of domestic virtues, and for the purification and ennobling of the national life, will ever be held in grateful remembrance. His poetic art is so much of a piece with his character and the quality of his genius, it is so free from pedantry and self-consciousness, so earnest in its tone, so nobly vehement in its moral purpose, so transparent, simple, direct, and energetic in its expression, that it furnishes absolutely no conditions for eliciting the struggles and the delectations of the *dilettanti*. We may be sure that we shall be spared any Whittier "cult," like unto the Shelley "cult," and the Browning "cult."

Whittier's genius and art are endeared to the people because they smack of the soil. He is genuinely a native poet. He is to New England the Revealer of the soul that lies hidden in the beauty and wealth of the varied charms of her landscape, by highway, river, forest, hills, and shore; in the legends and traditions of aboriginal life; and in the moral and spiritual influences that pervaded the home-life of the simple country folk of an earlier time. Wordsworth did no greater service for England in urging her to resist the inroads of Napoleon upon the liberties of Europe than Whittier did for America with his clarion notes that aroused the sleeping conscience of the nation in the old anti-slavery days. Whittier is something more than the native poetic voice of New England: he is one of the very chief glories of American Poetry, and the top and crown of American Literature is its poetry. With perfect truth Whittier might say of his poetical work what Wordsworth claimed for his: "It will coöperate with the benign tendencies in human nature and society, and will, in its degree, be efficacious in making men wiser, better, and happier."

His imagination is still bringing forth fruit in old age, as the charming poems in two January magazines bear testimony. Long may he wear "his garland and singing robes about him." For the good Quaker Poet there is the universal wish that his evening-time may continue to be

"Serene and bright,
And lovely as a Lapland light."

COMMENT ON CURRENT DISCUSSION.

POSTAL-CARD THEOLOGY.

AMONG the novelties of the present theological discussion is the enterprise of certain religious journals in ascertaining the number of persons who advocate and oppose opinions which are under debate. The method is to send out postal-cards, on which are printed questions to be answered "yes" or "no." One paper sends to pastors of New England churches having as many as five hundred members, another to the male honorary members in attendance at the meeting of the American Board, and a third to the Congregational pastors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and

Connecticut. In the last instance the aim of the question was to ascertain whether or not the hypothesis of a future probation for the heathen is positively held. When a large number of postals have been returned, the result is published in good, plain figures, showing that two thirds, three fourths, nine tenths, as the case may be, give a certain answer. In all these cases considerable trouble has been taken to ascertain definitely what was very well known in advance. No one doubted that a majority of the pastors of the largest churches in New England oppose the recent policy of the American Board in rejecting certain candidates, nor that a majority of the honorary members in attendance at Springfield approved the action taken, nor that a small minority of the Congregational ministers addressed have positively accepted the hypothesis of future probation. It is not to be inferred, however, that the wisdom of the action taken by the Board is proved by these irresponsible votes, nor that the reasonableness of a Christian probation is forever settled by the opinions held by a majority of the Congregational pastors in three New England States in October, 1887. In ecclesiastical and doctrinal matters minorities quite as often as majorities, have been in the right. If such results are of great value, then it is a comfort to know that the doctrine of evolution has been disposed of by the Presbyterians of South Carolina in a vote of 87 to 3. We beg leave to suggest that answers depend, in a measure, on questions. Suppose the question should be sent out: "Do you believe that the earthly life is decisive of the eternal destiny of all members of the human family?" Or this question: "Do you believe that all the heathen who have no knowledge of Christ in this life are lost forever and ever?" Or this: "Do you think that no person otherwise well qualified for missionary service, but who entertains hope that the heathen will, after death, have knowledge of Christ, should receive appointment to preach the gospel to heathen?" Or this: "What is your definite opinion concerning God's dealing with the heathen who do not hear the gospel?" We fancy the answers would be more interesting and instructive than those which were published. The issue is not involved in the prevalence of certain opinions, but in the right to hold them. The real question is: "Do you think that those, few or many, who believe in a Christian probation for all men, should have liberty to exercise ministerial functions in the home and foreign work of the Congregational Churches?"

DR. PATTON'S ARTICLE IN THE "NEW ENGLANDER."

Rev. Dr. Patton presents in the December number of the "New Englander" a clear and forcible statement of the causes of contention in the American Board and of the significance of the result which was reached at Springfield. The moral weight of the minority vote, in view of the number and character of the men who cast it, and of the strength of their position, is admirably shown. The prediction is plainly justified that the majority will, in time, see their mistake and reverse their exclusive and

intolerant policy. Dr. Patton shows that there are five different theories concerning the probation of the heathen, the fifth being the so-called Andover hypothesis, none of which is free from objection on the ground of reason and Scripture, but all of which, except the last, may be held by missionaries of the Board. He demolishes the editor of the "Independent," who "thought that any theory on this subject ought to be capable of demonstration by a naked quotation of Scriptural texts; and who insisted on this idea in a famous correspondence printed in his paper." Dr. Patton remarks that "it was enough to make every living theological professor leap from his chair, and the dead ones turn in their graves," and adds, "Theologians well know that there never was a greater farce than the publication of that correspondence." The minority only claimed that missionaries should have the same liberty in respect to all these hypotheses as is enjoyed by their brethren at home, and this was voted down by fifty-two majority.

One fact of much importance is brought out by Dr. Patton which had not been stated before. When the Creed Commission was in session Dr. Alden tried to introduce into the Creed a clause which should exclude the Andover hypothesis. "We were meeting," says Dr. Patton, who was a member of the Commission, "in Dr. Taylor's church, New York city, and, on calling for a copy of his church-creed, behold, there was not a line in it contradictory of that hypothesis; and the same was found to be true of the creeds of vast numbers of our churches, which are wholly silent on that subject. Dr. Alden thus learned that the Andover hypothesis, though not contained in it, was yet not contradictory of the faith of our churches, as expressed in many of their creeds, and as reaffirmed by their Creed Commission, and was therefore entitled to tolerance (not indorsement) by our Board of Missions." Dr. Alden has thus laid himself open to the charge of disingenuousness in his persistent attempts to show "that the Committee were only obeying the will of the churches, and protecting their faith, by requiring certain positive statements denying that Christ might be offered to the heathen after death."

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN AFRICA. — The centre of Southern Africa, as itself centrally represented in the Congo Free State, is opened to Christian missions under peculiarly hopeful conditions. A neutralized territory, whose neutrality we may expect to be genuinely respected, is a proof, outside of Christendom, that Christendom, after all, is not a fiction. It promises well, too, that the sovereignty of the Free State vests in a man of the somewhat over-anxiously self-regarding, but nevertheless humane and enlightened House of Saxe-Coburg. May the fortu-

nate star of this House continue in the ascendant in Belgium, Britain, Portugal, Bulgaria, and Africa!

The Congo Free State, it appears, embraces something over 1,000,000 square miles of the territory tributary to the Congo, having, it is supposed, a population of about 27,000,000. It thus occupies about one-tenth of Africa, and includes about one-seventh of her estimated population. Of course the sovereignty of King Leopold exists only *ad extra*, being felt about as little interiorly as the sovereignty of the State of Nebraska over the swarming towns of her prairie-dogs. But it is a great fact even thus, doubtless to be the parent of greater facts. We shall, however, merge missionary accounts coming from this with those received from the region of the lakes, and from the coast right east of them.

The "Missionary Herald" for March, 1886, remarks, that in place of 5,250 miles of uninterrupted navigation above Stanley Pool, which had been Mr. Stanley's estimate, he had written to the "London Times" that Lieutenant Wissman and the Baptist and Roman Catholic missionaries, through their explorations of other affluents, have added 1,500 miles to the known navigable waters, so that there are now about 7,000 miles open to commerce above Stanley Pool.

The "Missionary Herald" for April, 1886, gives a sketch of the West Central African Mission, which, though nominally within Portuguese jurisdiction, is enjoying the benefit of the general influences which are assuring protection to all honest efforts for the good of Africa. Bailundu is 190 miles east of Benguela, and Bihé is 70 miles southeast of Bailundu. "They are situated on a rolling plain about five thousand feet above the level of the sea, in a most salubrious climate, where the mercury rarely sinks below 35° F. and rarely rises above 88° F., affording a temperature nearly such as is found in Washington Territory or Oregon. The face of the surrounding country is broken with hills and water-courses; the soil is fairly fertile and capable of a great variety of crops when properly tilled; the timber is light and of small value for lumber; the underlying rock is granite with rich deposits of iron and other valuable ores. Sweet potatoes and corn are grown in great profusion, oranges and bananas flourish under cultivation, and with proper tillage a large population may be sustained. The native inhabitants of the region around our stations are scattered through numerous small villages, and perhaps equal in number those of the agricultural districts in New England. They live in wattled houses, well built and convenient for such a people, and they are all partially clothed. They are a brown race, with regular features and closely curled hair, of erect, finely formed figures, active in habit and friendly in disposition. They belong to the great Bantu family, that occupies the southern part of Africa from ocean to ocean, from 5° north latitude to 20° south latitude. Their language is called the Umbundu, and appears to be one of very regular construction, flexible, and capable of receiving and conveying religious ideas with reasonable facility. They are governed by a king, who is their leader in war and their chief at home. There is a council of chief men, or elders, who own the land, surround the king, give him advice, and as the exigency requires regulate the succession. The authority of Portugal in the high lands is little more than nominal. . . . The Bailundos and Bihénos have no distinct object of worship, no well-defined religious system; and the teachings of the missionaries have to encounter only the apathy and opposition of the unregenerate heart. The total population accessible to

this mission is only matter of conjecture; within a radius of thirty miles around each of the inland stations there may be ten thousand people, and within reach from Benguela perhaps half as many more. The country east and south inland, to which these stations are the natural gateway, is vast and populous, and the opportunity that opens before the mission is almost illimitable."

The founding of the Mission in 1881, with the full concurrence and active assistance of Portugal; its welcome from the chiefs and people; the adoption of the missionaries by King Kwikwi, as "his white men"; the sudden expulsion and robbery in 1884; the recall, and the full reinstatement in 1885, are fresh in memory. Everything is inchoate up to the date of this report, and we will trace it from this as anything is sent in worthy of note, judging this *genetic* plan of report, as in the magazines themselves, to have more living interest. — Mr. Sanders, referring to the African custom of making presents to kings and chiefs, and to their insatiate greediness in demanding them, says that they had been advised by Silva Porto, the new Portuguese captain-general for the interior, to stipulate for a fixed annual tribute in lieu of all demands. This they were very willing to do, but had hitherto found the King of Bihé impracticable. — Silva Porto, the missionaries remark, is quite enthusiastic in some ways for the improvement of the people, but seems singularly blind to the evil he is doing them by his presents of ardent spirits. — Mr. Sanders had visited the Roman Catholic *pádras*, two pleasant-spoken young men, who received him very hospitably, and gave him a large load of oranges to take back with him. He was sorry to see that they were beginning to buy slaves. He warned them that they would get themselves into trouble, but did not seem to make much impression. — From a letter in the "Herald" for June, 1886, it seems that the King of Bihé, though a sad rascal and a thorough-going pagan, had got some notion of the superiority of Christianity, for the King of Bailundu having sent to remonstrate against certain misappropriations of ivories presented to the two by a third king, the Bihéan majesty waxed wroth, and stigmatized his brother of Bailundu as "a good-for-nothing heathen." Whereupon Bailundu, watching opportunity, cleaned out a Bihéan caravan, not so much for the plunder, as to satisfy the point of honor. Mr. Stover thinks that Kwikwi had been bullied about long enough, and that considering the loss of lives and treasure which such an insult offered in Christendom would entail, the King of Bailundu is little to be blamed.

Mr. Stover, writing April 19, 1886, says: "We share in Mrs. Logan's wish, of Micronesia, to go into an assembly of people who are modestly clothed. . . . There is no absolute nudity, except among children. . . . We compel our servants, and encourage all others, to cover themselves decently, but we have not thought it best, as yet, to encourage the wearing of European clothing. . . . How to create a want for better things is one of the problems we have to solve here. I am fully convinced that we shall never have a successful native Christianity until we do create such want, and so lead to lives of usefulness. This idleness and filth in which the people now live is as incompatible with godliness as sin itself; indeed, it is one of the worst forms of sin, to my mind." —

"The *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* for October," says the "Herald" for December, 1886, "contains an exceedingly interesting and valuable paper by Colonel Sir Francis de Winton, who succeeded Mr. H. M. Stanley as agent of the King of the Belgians in the

Congo Free State. This officer affirms that the central region embraced in the Congo Free State is a vast, rectangular tableland, being 475,000 square miles in area, having a gradual slope from the southeast to the northwest. He affirms that within this region there is hardly 100 square miles of area which is not approachable by a waterway. . . . The most valuable article of commerce in the interior at present is ivory. It is said that 386 tusks, averaging fifty pounds weight each, were offered for sale in a single day at Stanley Pool. Colonel De Winton affirms that any plan by which this ivory can be brought to the coast without the intervention of slaves will be a sure overthrow of the slave-trade, for the ivory alone would not pay the expenses of the traffic, the present plan being to sell the slaves as well as the ivory they carry. If steamers and a railway can bear these products to the coast, the cruel system of the slave-trade will receive a deadly blow." — The West Central Mission was saddened by the death of Mrs. Currie, on September 24, 1886. "Her sickness was short, but full of suffering." Mr. Stover writes: "The children came in softly and sadly and looked once more on the face of her whom they had learned to love even in so short a time. We then had a simple service consisting of reading, singing, prayer, and a few words to the children. After this, six of the lads carried the precious casket and gently lowered it to its last resting-place as solemnly and decorously as if, instead of witnessing a Christian burial for the first time, they had all their lives been accustomed to such things." It is much, if this was so, for the callous brutality of African funerals, even in the nominally Christian West Indies, is shocking. . . . Mr. Currie, writing previously to this, says of the King of Bailundu, that he appears to have a large amount of homely good sense, and a desire to act for the welfare of his people. Homely good sense is especially an African characteristic. — Mr. Stover has formed a class of catechumens, consisting of six lads, taking as the basis of instruction Dr. Schaff's delightfully lucid Catechism. "You would be deeply moved could you hear and understand the earnest, simple prayers of these lads pleading for clean hearts, full of love to God and to their neighbors, for strength to resist the temptations of the devil, to flee all anger, malice, and evil speaking, and to endure scorn and persecution for Jesus' sake. . . . Nganda, the King's son, told the Lord last night in his prayer how angry their friends get when they (the lads) try to tell them of Jesus. Being the King's son he has many privileges and immunities, but as a rule he ignores them, and places himself on a level with the others. . . . And so we bless God and take courage."

Mrs. Sanders writes: "It has seemed to us sometimes as if we were the only inhabitants of the land, everything will be so quiet and solitary. At home, and I believe in most other lands, nothing is known of such vast stretches of uninhabited and uncultivated land. From our camp, as far as the eye can reach, there is not the least trace of humanity. It is true that we are not more than ten minutes' walk from the Kamundongo villages, but they are concealed from view by a very light and thin strip of woods. Everywhere there are beautiful forests and rolling meadows. The eye gets weary of solitude. But when the moonlight comes, or a person dies, we are very quickly made aware that we are not the only occupants of the soil. Then dancing, drumming, singing, and howling make night hideous." Indeed, nothing gives so deep a sense of the brutalization of the African race as the sound of their night revelries. — Mrs. Sanders, speaking of some late deaths, says: "The only wonder is

that the people do not all die from filth, if nothing else. It is perfectly abominable how they live and what they eat." She then adverts to the terrible toil of the women. The curse of Eve, ministered through the selfish despotism of the stronger sex, is not yet fully lifted from her daughters anywhere, but in these darkest places of the earth it is appalling in its weight.

The "Herald" for April, 1887, refers to Professor Henry Drummond's account of the African Lakes Company. This, it seems, has succeeded "in starting a most flourishing coffee-plantation in the interior, and new sources of wealth, such as cinchona, indigo, cacao, tea, and fibre-plants, are being gradually introduced. For the first time, on the large scale, it has taught the natives the meaning and the blessings of work. It has acted as a check on the slave-trade. Finally, and above all, it acts as deacon to the mission stations themselves, caring for them in secular things, giving them transit to and fro, and keeping them in stores. This service is invaluable, and what is of great importance in the matter is the fact that it seems likely to be a fairly profitable investment of the capital employed." Here we see that there is such a thing as Christianity in political economy. The stockholders of this company make it a real commercial investment, but are content with such profits as lie within the range of humane regard for human interests. — Mr. Stover writes from Bailundu, December 18, 1886: "The fact is the work is taking on proportions entirely beyond my strength. Last Sabbath we had the largest number ever present at any service here. There must have been about seventy-five men, women, and children. That does not sound very enormous in Boston, but the seating capacity of our little school chapel was severely taxed. The interest seems to be deepening and spreading." — Mr. Currie had visited the capital of Owambo, a little kingdom some five-and-forty miles from Bailundu. The capital is on the top of a mountain nearly 6,000 feet high, of very rich and well cultivated soil. He was cordially received. — The June "Herald" gives information that "the *Société des Missions* of Paris has recently decided, in response to the invitation of M. de Brassa, to open a mission in the French possessions on the Congo River. The reasons given for this decision are the peaceable character of the work of civilization begun by M. de Brassa, and his sympathy with the natives." — They hope to take up this work without crippling the work among the Bassutos, whose recent abandonment of strong drink, we grieve to say, has been very short-lived. — The recent death of the avaricious, voluptuous, tyrannical king of Bihé has been no very deep sorrow. But King Kwikwi, of Bailundu, seems to have come into very cordial relations with the missionaries. They say of him, "if not cultured, he has the instincts of a gentleman, and does not make himself a nuisance."

The "Baptist Missionary Magazine" for February, 1886, reports carefully gathered facts from Dr. Zintgraff, as to the mortality among white men on the Lower Congo. It appears that among eighteen missionaries, and about two hundred and sixty traders, there were in eighteen months seven deaths. Not a very alarming average for the Lower Congo. — The Annual Report of the Baptist Missionary Union, published in the "Magazine" for July, 1887, gives an exact statement of the great results accomplished within the year on the Upper Congo. "In August, 1886, a remarkable movement manifested itself among the Congo people, who began to throw away their fetish idols, and to profess the religion of Jesus

Christ. The interest centred at Banza Manteke, where, in the course of a few weeks, one thousand and sixty-two professed themselves followers of Christ; but the tide of feeling overflowed to other stations of our own mission, and to those of other missions. The first Christian church in the Congo Free State was organized November 21, 1886, at Banza Manteke, of forty-two members. The missionaries have been very cautious — perhaps more so than the apostles would have been — “in receiving candidates for baptism; but, up to the last advices, ninety-seven had been baptized at four stations, and others will be received from month to month, as the brethren are able to satisfy themselves that their faith is sufficiently intelligent to enable them to adorn their profession as members of the body of Christ.”

— The “Chronicle of the London Missionary Society” says that the Society has sent out to Central Africa Alexander Carson, B. Sc., as engineer. He comes “supported by hearty and valuable testimony, both as regards his practical acquaintance with engineering and as regards spiritual fitness for the self-denying work that awaits him. He goes to Africa to complete the construction of the Mission Steamer, the *Good News*, and subsequently, by the establishment of an industrial institution and in other similar ways, to do all in his power for the spiritual and material improvement of the natives.” The healthy union of inward and outward, spiritual and material interests, which distinguished the great Benedictine missions of the Middle Ages, the Hawaiian Mission, and various others, is forcing its way to the front in Interior Africa. Yet only on the basis of precedent evangelization is there any real interest in civilization. — The London Society has chosen as its principal station on Lake Tanganyika, an island, named from the chief Kavala Island, some two or three miles long and about one fourth as broad, occupied by several villages of a friendly, pleasant people. Kavala himself has removed thither. — Here a perplexing question arises: What shall be the language of the Mission? The language of the people, of course, we should answer. But unhappily there are many kindred languages spoken around the Lake, and some only by a few people. “These dialects,” says Captain Hore, “are not copious enough for religious teaching, and by the time they are acquired, enriched, and put on paper there may be few to use some of them, and many languages in the one Mission. On the other hand, there already exists a literature, including nearly the whole Bible, in Kiswahili. It is fashionable with the Tanganyika natives, as English is with the Japanese, and once common here would soon become the language of all East Africa.” There seems to be no more reason why every Tanganyika dialect should be pursued by cultivation than why every German dialect should be. The Kiswahili Bible may do for that region what Luther’s Bible has twice done for Germany, given it unity of speech at least for all higher purposes. —

The Rev. E. A. Fitch, who went out with Bishop Hannington, and who is now established in the new Chagga Mission, at the foot of Mount Kilima-Njaro, says, in a letter published in the “Church Missionary Intelligencer” for January, 1886: “The Wachagga seem to have no word to express what we mean by ‘sin’ nor ‘forgiveness.’ They have an idea of a God, but they seem to look upon Him with a kind of fatalism; as when a man is ill and they give him a medicine, and yet the man gets worse, they do not attribute any inefficacy to the medicine, but simply say, ‘God forbids him to be cured;’ they will also go so far as to

kill a goat to intercede with God; but they seem to divide all the meat amongst themselves and eat it." This is one of the multiplying evidences that the Africans easily have the conception of God, but in their moral languor and alienation do not care to have much to do with Him. — We have heard of the young tyrant and persecutor Mwanga, Mtesa's son and successor, as having two sisters who are Christians. The Rev. A. M. Mackay, however, in a letter written in September, 1885, does not attribute a very exalted character to these two royal converts. He says: "Of the king's two sisters, Queen Lubuga (Mugali Rebecca) still adheres to us. I cannot say how far she leads a consistent life, except that she wears no charms, nor has, I believe, any in her house. . . . The other princess, Nalumansi, . . . who was baptized before Mugali, has not given much satisfaction. She has found a paramour in the person of a young chief (recently a page), who has been taught a smattering of" what Mr. Mackay calls "the Romish" — meaning, we presume, the Roman Catholic Catechism. He says that as the learning of that does not involve learning to read, it is rather the favorite with the lazy ones, who distinguish the two forms of Christianity as "the religion of the mouth" and "the religion of the book." Nalumansi, however, still remained friends with the Protestants. — Mr. Mackay says: "Some time ago you were in doubt as to the propriety of ladies coming to Buganda at all. My own perfect conviction is that wherever we are safe, they would be also, if not safer. Bad as this land has been rendered by polygamy, and the social standing of woman thereby lowered, yet the fact that there are two elevated to the position of queens shows even outsiders that woman has still a high place. The respect paid to the head wife of a chief, for instance, is astonishing. A princess, or one of the king's ladies, passing on the road, has a gang of fellows before, who clear the way of all and sundry, that the lady may be looked upon by no one." Indeed, though the Nigritian race is little more careful of overburdening the strength of women by labor than the Saxon boors whom Julian Hawthorne describes, and is no more studious to guard the refinement of womanhood than certain barbarian reformers of our own country, male and female, yet from the remotest ages of Egypt till now, woman has always had abundant and acknowledged influence throughout Africa. Indeed, through large parts of Southern Africa, as we learn from Dr. Livingstone, women are, in full form, the superior sex, although the inferiority of Man is protected by one or two points of customary right.

The murder of Bishop Hannington is explained sufficiently, coming, as he did, from the east, by some words of Mr. Mackay. "It is only natural that these Natives be very jealous for their land. In Buganda they look on the Lake" — Victoria Nyanza, on the northwestern shore of which Buganda, or Uganda, as we call it, omitting the prefix, is situated — "as a natural barrier, preventing invasion from the south. When the Egyptians were north at Mruli, Mtesa was ever trembling. From the west they fear nothing. The Congo State may some day alarm them not a little. But the sore point is Busoga," or, as the Perthes maps put it down, Usoga, occupying the northeastern shore of the Victoria. "From there they know the solid ground stretches off east all the way to the coast, and an army in that direction would find an open road. Mtesa used to twitch me by saying, 'You white men would like much, would you not, to see the country behind Busoga? That I would never allow.' . . . Now the beginning has been made at the coast — Bismarck versus Bur-

gash. And then, too, the English are coming to the jealously guarded land of Busoga, at the other side of Buvuma. One white man is supposed to be a host in himself." — One of the letters giving account of Bishop Hannington's murder describes the messengers as saying that "the Bishop became a great object of admiration and awe wherever he went, the Masai saying as they closely examined him, 'Lumuruo kitó!' literally, 'A very great old man!'" The Bishop, we know, had not yet reached forty, but his hardships may well have made him seem an old man. — The "Intelligencer" for May, 1886, gives as the reason why a favorite page of the king, a young Christian, had been burned to death, that he had remonstrated with his master for killing the Bishop. He was declared to have insulted the king. But several more had been baptized at their own earnest request. The terrors and the glories of the early days are revived. — The Bishop was slain in October, 1885. November 5th, Mr. Mackay writes: "Nine lads baptized to-day." Later on more baptisms follow, including that of a young "lord of the lake," or admiral. — The king, it seems, repented of the sentence against his page, the young Roman Catholic Christian, but enemies who hated him for his Christianity had hastened the execution of the terrible sentence of burning, lest the king should annul it. Then two fresh martyrs. The Katikiro, or Vice-king, advised the king to kill all who learned to read. "Mwanga replied that all his pages and guards and servants were readers; that some 500 males and 500 females came to our place, and a similar number to the Frenchmen. If he were to kill all these, it would be said that he was slaying the whole country, therefore he would kill them by degrees. This statement was meant probably to put the Katikiro off; but of one thing I feel sure, that while they are alarmed at our making so many disciples, the number of these helps considerably to prevent their massacre; not that the Christians are believed to have any power of resistance, but many of these lads are sons of chiefs, and were they all put to death at once, there might be discontent among their parents." — On the 22d he writes that those who had been condemned to the stake had been set at liberty. — The negroes, as we know from old experience with them, are good at the *argumentum ad hominem*. To one who had professed to fear God, but had done nothing to commend his sincerity, "Ashe pointed out the incompatibility of professing to fear God, and at the same time robbing and murdering. Pokino replied that the Baduchi (Germans) were people who know God, yet they came to annex land not their own. 'Did not even the English make gunpowder and cannon? Did they do so for the love of God?'"

Speaking of the Bishop, Mr. Mackay reports, from a native: "They kept him aloof from his man and his goods, but allowed him his bedding, and his Bible and one or two other books. He occupied his time in writing much. When they were about to kill him, he bade them tell the king that he had purchased the road to Buganda with his life, and that he died for the Baganda. There were about fifty servants and porters, all of whom were killed, except two or three who were saved to show how to open the boxes, etc., as also one Maganda who was in the caravan." — As near as we can make out, U-ganda is used by Mr. Mackay as the root; Bu-ganda as the name of the country; Ba-ganda as the name of the people; and Ma-ganda, as the name of an individual of the people. It seems that the Baganda exercise an oppressive sway over their neighbors by

reason of the dissensions of these. But Mr. Mackay thinks that "some day these adjoining tribes will unite to throw off the hated yoke, and this nation will have the same fate as the Makololo." — December 8th. "The whole of the Sermon on the Mount now in type. Every proof-sheet we distribute several copies of among our people, and have their corrections and emendations before going to press. They take a deep interest in the work in this way, and are proud to have *their own* Gospel."

We have referred to the new Chagga Mission, at the foot of Mount Kilima-Njaro. Mr. J. A. Wray, a lay missionary, writes in the "Intelligencer": "The Wachaga are a very nice people, and very simple-minded. They remind me very much of what I should suppose the early Britons were. I consider them superior to the Wataita or any other African tribe I have seen, both in figure and every other respect. They have the most beautiful skin I ever saw. Unfortunately, almost half the people are pockmarked. A great many are carried off by small-pox. They are very clean in their habits; they do not smear their bodies with oil and red clay, like other tribes. . . . The language is totally different from anything I have heard; it is very musical. I can already make myself understood, and understand nearly all that is said to me. We have had no teacher of the language yet. I have learnt my Kiswahili and Kitaita without one, and should soon pick up Kichaga without one." Here is still another of those bewildering prefixes. It is to be hoped that the outside world will agree before long on using the body of the names, leaving the natives to vary their formative syllables at pleasure, as, since writing this, we see that Mr. Cust recommends. Orientation at present is a little perplexing. "On Christmas Day," Mr. Wray writes, "I tried to explain to the people why it was such a 'great day' with us, but to them it seems at present (we hope only 'for the present,') an absurdity that 'all men are bad,' that 'God should so love all men, that He should send His Son to die for them.' Oh! I do long to explain it all to them fully, and show them plainly the way to eternal life." Where the measure of human love is small, the conception of divine love, of course, is very difficult. We do not have to go beyond our own breasts to know this. . . . Rev. E. A. Fitch writes: "These people seem to have no 'religion' properly so called. They have an idea that there is a 'God,' but their vocabulary (so far as we can find out at present) uses the same word to express both 'God' and 'the sun.' They seem to depend a great deal on omens, examining the entrails of goats before setting out on any expedition, etc. It will be hard to wean them from their so-called 'wars,' rather expeditions for mere plunder and robbery on some poor defenseless neighbor, and Mandara told us one day, 'You must not expect me to give up my wars, for that is the means whereby I gain my cattle.' Neither does he see any wrong in selling his captives; only last week, we hear, having sent several down to the coast to be sold."

Speaking of Bishop Hannington, Mr. Fitch says: "No one of all the missionaries knew him as I did, and saw as it were the innermost side of his life. How kind and gentle he was to all; how considerate for others, and anxious not to give an offense, even where a rebuke was necessary; but so spiritually minded, walking so closely with God. I shall never forget our journey through Palestine together. Every morning, though often in the dusk of the rising sun, we would have our prayers, and always Psalm cxxi., which I had to read. If the Bibles had been packed

away, the Bishop himself would say the Psalm by heart. And again how kind and genial. Everybody loved him. Wherever he went there was a brightness. On board ship all loved him. Wherever we went in Palestine, the people all said how too short their time with him was. Then I have to thank him for my being here at this time, in the forefront of the battle. He made it a rule never to ask a man to enter on missionary work; but he asked me, and all things worked together to show that it was the Lord's doing, and I can say, 'Thank God that he departed from the rule.' . . . My heart aches to do higher work" than the necessary building. "What have we done? Nothing. What are we doing? Must it be said again, nothing? I want it to be at least 'living for Jesus.' I try to talk to the people, but they do not understand me as they do Mr. Wray; my tongue is not yet framed to their accent. On every side one is met by their witchcraft: any one is sick, he is bewitched; a cow gives no milk for the same reason, and they will actually come to us for medicine for their cows. We try to show them the falsehood and folly of all, but to very little purpose. They think we read and 'worship' for the same reason as they 'worship,' viz., to kill an enemy, to look into the future," etc.

—January 17, 1886, the missionaries at Uganda — or, as they say, Buganda — had forty-two communicants. They thought best not to draw the notice of the young tyrant Mwanga, or of his yet more bitterly hostile vicegerent, the Katikiro, by very large congregations. The Christians mostly met at the houses of the leaders, of members of the Church Council that had been lately appointed, as we know that the apostolic Christians very commonly did. — Bishop Hannington's Bible had been brought to Uganda. — The "Intelligencer" for August, 1886, has an extended extract from Père Lourd's communication in the "Missions Catholiques," from which we translate a more particular account of the martyrdom of the young page referred to by Mr. Mackay. "I seated myself, awaiting with anxiety the result of the sitting. After a little while, a door opened, and a young page who is one of our catechumens, with an expression of utter consternation, informs his companions that Mkasa, Joseph, their chief, a Christian, of whom I have spoken above, had just been bound and carried off to the stake. The pretext assigned by the king was that Mkasa had instigated me to give the medicine which had caused him a temporary inconvenience and fright the day before. The actual reason is that Joseph had made enemies of the Katikiro and Vamasole" — the queen-mother — "by having steadily used his influence to restrain the king from relapsing into certain pagan usages. Mwanga had also, three days before, resolved to destroy him, because Mkasa Joseph had said to him: 'Why do you begin to kill white people? Mtesa, your father, never killed any.' The king had taken these words of the young man as a gross insult, and he had resolved to destroy this young man, notwithstanding all the services which the latter had rendered him. . . . In the afternoon, we learn that Joseph has, in the flames, found the end of his pains, and that the king is well inclined to rid himself of all our Christians and probably of us too. Joseph was a model of piety and of fidelity to his duty. He had known how to maintain himself during long years in a most difficult charge and one which was full of pitfalls on every hand. He died a victim of his zeal in defending our religion against pagan superstitions and of his efforts to save the life of a Protestant bishop." It appears that this wretched creature, Mwanga, had been himself, during Mtesa's lifetime, a secret catechumen of the French priests. But to his

father's fickleness, it appears that he adds a fiendishness proper to himself.

—The Rev. R. P. Ashe writes, in April, 1886, that one of the head pages of Namasole, or Vamasole, the queen-mother, had applied for baptism.

—The consecration of the Rev. H. P. Parker as Bishop of the Church of England in Eastern Equatorial Africa, in succession to the lamented Hannington, took place in London, October 18, 1886. The Primate was assisted by five bishops. To come after Hannington is much, but the Chief Shepherd is able to raise the newly-consecrate even to this height.

The Rev. R. P. Ashe, writing to the "Spectator" in reply to the question, "What do we want with Kilima-Njaro, the great mountain district in East Africa?" says: "An enterprising mercantile people, which has undertaken the task of suppressing the trade in African negroes, requires two things — first, markets for its goods and fresh openings for its enterprise; and, secondly, some means by which it can stop the stream of slave traffic at its source. There is an ever increasing demand for cotton cloth in the interior of Africa, which might be exchanged for the products of these lake regions, possessing as they do one of the most perfect climates in the world, and producing India-rubber, oil-nuts, cotton, coffee, tobacco, cassava, the plantain, with its fruit which can be dried and its fibre of great mercantile value; also the fibre of the bark cloth tree, Indian corn, wheat, and other grain; not to speak of imported fruits, such as the guava, pomegranate, and paipai, which flourish here. As an example of demand producing supply, wheat was absolutely unknown when our Mission here was started; but when a little seed had been procured, and when people found they could earn a few cowries, they very soon learned to grow it, and now we are able to buy as much as we require. Hides and ivory are things, too, of which there is a large amount. This most fertile and magnificent region will sooner or later be the prize for which Europe will compete. Germany already seems to be bent on acquiring the road which Speke and Stanley opened up to the Nyanza. If England is to have a road to what should be her great market, it must be farther to the north; the route seems to be from Frere Town to the end of Speke Gulf. If you draw a line between these two points, you will find that it passes through the Kilimanjaro district. Here, then, let England establish a military colony, reducing her naval force in Zanzibar waters to meet part of the cost. From this point she could strike an effective, continuous, and crushing blow at the very root of the slave-trade. Let Lancashire form a trading company with a substantial capital, and let a narrow-gauge railway be run from Frere Town to Speke Gulf, and one of the richest and most fertile regions of the earth would be opened to legitimate commerce. The accounts of travelers who have only passed through such countries as Ugogo, Unyamwesi, and the tract between the coast and Kilima-Njaro, give no idea of the glorious fertility of a land like this. The railway spoken of would eventually tap the Equatorial provinces of the Soudan. The proximity of European law and European civilization in a land of lawlessness and cruel barbarity could not but be most beneficial to the native races, which are at present waging an internecine warfare. You may pass for hours through the richest and most fertile slopes and valleys without seeing a sign of human life. Africa is crying for peace, a boon which such men as Livingstone, Gordon, and Hannington have been willing to lay down their lives to procure for her. Yes; but what of the rights of potentates and powers, of rulers and kings? And what of the wrongs of peoples and provinces, of serfs and slaves? The

good sense of honest men, conscious of a righteous aim, will settle the question so that rights shall be recognized and wrongs redressed. And, after all, the Bargashes and Mandaras, the Mwangas and Kabaregas are very few, while the oppressed and downtrodden subjects are a countless multitude."

We give an extract from the sermon preached by the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M. A., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, at the consecration of Bishop Parker, Hannington's successor. "I must not do more than allude to the characteristics of the diocese which to-day receives its second Bishop. I can only remind you that in a degree surely unequalled in the history of modern missions it has presented, in its still brief and recent history, peculiarly glorious and tender illustrations of the mysterious links of death with life, of suffering with victory. On its borders, forty years ago, the apostolic Krapf buried his wife and his child, and wrote home to the Church Missionary Society that 'since the victories of the Church are gained by stepping over the graves of many of her members, now was at hand the hour for the conversion of Africa from her eastern shore.' There his friend Rebmann wrought his life-work, with few converts, and at last quite blind, but glad and confident to the end. There, in the heart of the region, nine years ago, O'Neill and Smith were slain. There again, within these two years, the altar-firstfruits of U-Ganda unto Christ, a brotherhood of young Native martyrs, suspended bleeding above the fire, died, as their executioners bore witness, with the praises of Jesus on their lips; and now we know not how many more have followed them through violent death within these few months. And there, meanwhile, on a pilgrimage of daring love, has fallen the martyred Bishop, in the prime of his life of buoyant devotion, a blessed and memorable sacrifice to Africa and Christ. And now his successor is before us, ready in the same name for death or for life in this great sacred field. He goes to a large work of order and supervision. The Missions, scattered over the breadth of a thousand miles from the Ocean to the Lake, are still inevitably deficient in relation and cohesion, and therefore need exceedingly the wise and patient presence of a recognized Chief Pastor. The time too is ripening there for a strong development of a Native pastorate, a matter in which Western Africa gives a bright augury for Eastern; and for this also the loving stimulus and oversight of the leader and ordainer is required."

Mr. Ashe, writing from Uganda, May, 1886, says: "On Easter Sunday rumors of evil were rife, and the consequence was that only a few came in the morning. We thought it better to have the communion service only, so as to let them get away quickly. I think commemorating our Saviour's death under circumstances of uncertainty helped to make us look forward more earnestly to the Heavenly Feast, where there will be no more fear." He then speaks of three baptisms. Then, May 26th, describing the terrible persecution which was beginning, "The first actual trouble arose from a page who was baptized here last February, refusing to consent to a sin of which it is a shame even to speak, and to which the king had wished to make him a victim. . . . This, and the fact of a princess having burnt some magic charm, so enraged the king that he sent and apprehended most of the leading Christians, both those who read with the Frenchmen and ourselves. We hear that eleven victims have already sealed their testimony with their blood. Several members of the Native Church Council have been arrested. We hear that as many as seventy people have been seized, and we hear that they are going to burn

them, which may the good Lord forbid!" Later: "I had only time when I last wrote to give an account of the terrible storm of persecution which has burst upon our little Church. You will remember, perhaps, mention being made in an earlier letter of the baptism of one of the head-pages, Sabagabo. Sabagabo is the name of the office, his proper name is Gayiya, and his Christian name Matia. He was baptized at the close of February last; he is a nice, gentle boy. He little thought how soon and how terribly his constancy would be tried, and that, too, of many more. In my last letter I briefly stated the shameful incident from which this fearful persecution has arisen. Such splendid acts of disobedience to this negro Nero Mwanga's vile commands seem to have aroused his fury; and as if his hands were not already too deeply dyed in blood, he must needs increase his bloody deeds as if to fill up the measure of his iniquity to the full." He then speaks of the brutal beating of the heroic lad, lasting until the tyrant himself was exhausted, when he commanded a chief to continue it, alternating the blows with hacks and gashes. "Then he sent and had as many as fifty of his pages seized and made prisoners, and the principal Christians, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Then came ghastly stories of shocking and shameful mutilations. . . . A few days afterwards, the prisoners, to the number of thirty-two, were burnt on one great funeral pyre. Terrible as has been the slaughter, some of the very best of our people having been burnt, yet so far we have the deepest cause of thankfulness, that a great house full of pages who are our converts have up to the present been spared. A similar house containing the converts of the French priests was taken, and some thirty of the boys were burned alive. The reason that our lads were spared is that the head store-keeper, a powerful chief, interceded for them. They are most useful to the king, which perhaps, too, has some influence in saving their lives. These boys are all in the king's storehouses. One of the chief blacksmiths, a convert of the priests', was spared solely on account of his being able to mend guns. The head blacksmith, Malukaga = Nua, mentioned in former letters, was martyred." The latter was baptized in 1884. "A very earnest Christian, regular attendant and communicant, active in teaching, and most generous in receiving the brethren at his house. At the time of the Bishop's murder he sheltered as many as eight of the Mission, children and women; elected member of Native Church Council, of which he was an active member. Was burnt alive, confessing his faith and exhorting his executioners to believe.

"And as that flaming path he trod,
One walk'd with him of glorious form,
One ever near in fire and storm;
And He was like the Son of God."

Some of the lads who were not burnt died under other forms of cruelty.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ELEMENTS OF PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY. A Treatise on the Activities and Nature of the Mind from the Physical and Experimental Point of View. By GEORGE T. LADD, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. 8vo, pp. xii, 696. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887. \$4.50.

This book is an honor to American scholarship. With a thoroughness and candor befitting the translator of Lotze, Professor Ladd has condensed in a clear form the results of a vast multitude of special scientific investigations, gathered, most of them with great labor, from German monographs and reports and scientific journals. In order to appreciate the immense difficulty of his work, we must bear in mind that he has mapped out a vast territory with but one predecessor to guide him; excepting Wundt, no other author has attempted to traverse the entire territory. It augurs well for the study of philosophy and mental phenomena in America that the second book on Physiological Psychology should have been written by an American, and that a book of such unquestionable ability.

It seems at first reading as though Professor Ladd gave inconsistent accounts of the scope of his subject.¹ Thus he says: "It is to be regarded simply as psychology approached, or studied from a certain side or point of view." Again: "The peculiarity of Physiological Psychology, considered as a branch of the general science of mind, consists largely in the *method* of its approach." Again: "The enlargement of our knowledge of psychology is the end to be reached: physiology is to give us the way by which and the guidance under which the approach to this end must be made." But, on the other hand, "Two sets of phenomena must be examined in their relation to each other, and the laws of their relation pointed out;" and "The constant forms of *correlation* constitute the laws for the discovery of which Physiological Psychology undertakes its special researches;" and "That the structure and functions of the body, especially of the nervous mechanism, and the activities of the mind are extensively and intimately correlated is a fact beyond all doubt. It is the particular task of Physiological Psychology to show in what manner and to what extent such correlation exists."

But this contradiction is only apparent. When Physiological Psychology has ascertained the laws of the relations between mental phenomena and the phenomena of the nervous system, it is natural to make these laws the basis of inferences concerning the nature of the mind. And this we take to be Professor Ladd's meaning. Indeed, he does not leave his position in doubt. He says explicitly: "It" — Physiological Psychology — "might be described — though in a still somewhat indefinite, but more full and complete, way — as the science which investigates the correlations that exist between the structure and functions of the human nervous mechanism and the phenomena of consciousness, and which derives therefrom conclusions as to the laws and nature of the mind."

So conceived, Physiological Psychology naturally falls into three divisions, the first treating of the nervous system, the second of the correlations

¹ See a review of Professor Ladd, by John Dewey, in the June number of the *New Englander*.

of the nervous system and the mind, the third of the nature of the mind. Professor Ladd devotes seven chapters to the nervous system; the first on *The Elements of the Nervous System*, the second on *The Combination of the Nervous Elements into a System*, the third on *The Nerves as Conductors*, the fourth on *The Automatic and Reflex Functions of the Central Organs*, the fifth on *The End-Organs of the Nervous System*, the sixth on *The Development of the Nervous Mechanism*, and the seventh on *The Mechanical Theory of the Nervous System*. One of Professor Ladd's reviewers (Professor J. M. Cattell in the October number of "Mind") finds a contradiction between a position stated in the chapter on the mechanical theory of the nervous system and another stated in the third part of the book. In the former, Professor Ladd says: "The aim of physical research with regard to any given system of this kind is, therefore, not accomplished until all the movements of its different parts are explained in the light of a consistent mechanical theory. This general principle of all physical science neither needs nor permits a special exception in the case of the human nerves, organs of sense and brain." In the latter: "For aught we know, it is of the nature of atoms when they are brought into relations so extraordinary as those which prevail in the nervous system, to behave with reference to each other in a way that is wholly irreducible to any simple formula like that of the conservation and correlation of energy." But surely the contradiction is of the reviewer's own making. Physical science is one great department of science in general. We may make assertions from the point of view of the latter which it is wholly impossible for us to make from the point of view of the former. If the doctrine stated in the sentence last quoted be true, from the very nature of the case it is one with which *physical* science can have nothing to do. By the very terms of its definition the science which considers it would not be physical. What Professor Ladd says in substance is, that when physical science considers any subject it must do so from its own point of view, and that since the brain and the nervous system are a part of the material universe, we have no right to exclude them arbitrarily and on *a priori* grounds from its considerations. But he nowhere makes any statement which justifies any one in believing that he regards the attempts of physical science to give a mechanical explanation of the nervous system as successful. In the paragraph immediately following the passage first quoted above, he says: "Nor can we express much confidence that physics and physiology combined will ever be able to point to a complete theory of so intricate and delicate a mechanism as this nervous system. Moreover, we do not by any means affirm that a purely mechanical treatment would of itself suffice to furnish a satisfactory understanding of all the phenomena; or even that the phenomena in general could by any possibility be brought solely under the terms of such treatment. We only affirm the unrestricted right of physical science to attempt, in the light of the conception of mechanism, an explanation of the nervous system, as well as of all other physical subjects; and also its right to its persistent faith that — *So far as physical science can explain any such subject*, all the special difficulties of the nervous system can be fitly considered only in this way."

Professor Ladd states the theories of Du Bois-Reymond, Hermann, and Wundt, and points out the difficulties of each. He shows that no attempt to explain how the nervous system *acts* can avoid the conclusion that the determining factor in the explanation must be found in what the nervous

system is, and that this involves a mechanical explanation of the origin and preservation of the nervous system — which is impossible without a mechanical explanation of life.

Part second consists of eleven chapters: the first and second on The Localizations of Cerebral Functions, the third and fourth on The Quality of Sensations, the fifth on The Quantity of Sensations, the sixth and seventh on The Presentations of Sense, the eighth on The Time-Relations of Mental Phenomena, the ninth on Feelings and Motions, the tenth on The Physical Basis of the Higher Faculties, and the eleventh on Certain Statical Relations of the Body and Mental Phenomena.

In the first part of the chapter on the localization of cerebral functions Professor Ladd summarizes the evidence which shows that there is a direct correlation between "the size, condition, and molecular activity of the cerebral hemispheres and the phenomena of consciousness." He then takes up the question as to whether the cerebral functions may not be more definitely located. In discussing this question, he considers the evidence based on experimentation, on pathology, and on histology and comparative anatomy. The consideration of this evidence leads, Professor Ladd thinks, to three principles which he regards "as summing up the results reached by inference upon the basis of experiment with respect to the localization of function in the cerebral cortex." The first is, that "the different elementary parts of the nervous system are all capable of performing its different specific functions when, and only when, they have been brought into the proper connections and have been exercised in the performance of those functions." This principle includes two important laws: the law of Specific Energy of the Nerves, and the Law of Habit. Every part of the nervous system has a specific function and discharges that function in the exercise of a specific energy. To what extent this specific energy is due to the molecular constitution of the nerve is unknown, but that it depends "upon the connections in which the elementary parts stand with each other is established beyond doubt. The second principle asserts, "that when the nervous system is in a normal condition, all parts have not the same definite functions. Since the functions of the different elementary parts necessarily depend upon the way in which they are combined and connected, the organs formed by such combinations must have certain normal functions, and since these organs must have a definite locality, the functions of the nervous system must be more or less definitely localized." The third principle asserts that if those parts of the cerebrum which ordinarily perform certain functions become incapacitated, the same functions may be performed by other parts of the cerebrum provided these parts stand in the proper connections.

Before beginning his consideration of the Quality of Sensations, Professor Ladd defines sensations. "Simple sensations are those elementary factors, themselves indecomposable, out of which the presentations of sense are composed." Mr. Cattell finds fault with Professor Ladd for saying that while as far as developed experience is concerned the *simple* sensation is a necessary fiction of psycho-physical science, and while consciousness is scarcely more able directly to analyze a presentation of sense into those factors out of which it originated than it is to analyze a drop of water into its component parts, scientific analysis can nevertheless accomplish this. He thinks that the idea that sensations are simple and isolated elements, out of which consciousness is constructed, leads

to the fallacious assumption of a mind with a mysterious power of creating unity of consciousness out of sensation-atoms. But whatever assumption it leads to, is it not true that in explaining the mind as it is, we must start from that simple — and hence unclassified and unassociated mental — state which results from the transmission to the brain centres of the stimulation of the outer extremity of the afferent nerves? This is what Professor Ladd means by sensation, and this he truly says is a fiction so far as developed experience is concerned. When the stimulation of the outer extremity of the nerve is transmitted to the brain centres in developed experience, the resulting mental state is colored by past experiences. From the point of view of the brain we may say that the work done by the brain centres in the past conditions their present work, brings about a mental state different from that which would otherwise have resulted. From the point of view of consciousness we may say that the simple mental state appears to the eye of consciousness amalgamated with the traces of past experience and associated with other experiences. If Professor Cattell thinks that the coexistence of sensations is equivalent to consciousness of their coexistence, let him show it. Until he has done so, those who agree with Professor Ladd may fairly demand the rational ground for endowing sensations with a mysterious power of transforming groups of themselves into consciousness of groups.

In the chapters on the Quality of Sensations, Professor Ladd seeks to answer the three following questions so far as the present stage of psychophysical investigation permits it: "(1) What is the precise locality in the organism where the specific excitation which occasions each kind of sensation originates; and what is the nature of the action of the stimulus in producing such excitation? (2) What are the kinds of sensations which appear in consciousness as the result of the various excitations? (3) What are the laws by which the quality of the sensations is related to the kinds of excitation?" Professor Ladd prefaces his attempts to answer these questions by pointing out that the law of the Specific Energy of the Nerves is tacitly implied in all discussions of the quality of sensations. He concludes his discussion of this subject by calling attention to the large amount of evidence in support of this law afforded by the special sensations in relation to their quality.

The chapter on the Quantity of Sensations aims to state what has been done in the way of answering the following questions: (1) How little and how much of each kind of stimulus will produce respectively the least and the greatest quantity of each kind of sensation of which the mind is capable; and (2) What is the law of the relation between changes in the intensity of sensations as estimated in consciousness and changes in the intensity of stimuli? Weber's law — "that the strength of the stimulus increases in a geometrical proportion when the strength of the sensation increases in an arithmetical proportion" — is shown to be only approximately true at best. While it "summarizes reasonably well many facts within a certain range of sensation lying near the middle of the scale of quantity," it does not hold good near both the upper and lower limits.

In the chapter on The Presentations of the Senses, Professor Ladd seeks to show how sensations are transformed into the perception of things, and to state what Physiological Psychology has done towards determining "how the various steps in the mental development are re-

lated to the changes which the stimuli produce in the nervous system, especially in the organs of sense." He clears the ground for the discussion of the question by showing that for a thing to be or happen is no explanation of its being perceived. Only as the things which exist and the events which happen affect us — are represented in the mind — are they perceived. Nor does a state or change in the body explain perception. Only as such states and changes *affect consciousness* have they any value for perception. "Only mental factors can be built up into mental products." The mental factors which are built up into presentations of sense are sensations. The transformation of sensations into physical processes in the surface of the body, and into qualities of things projected outside of the body, is a mental achievement, and the product of this achievement, the presentations of sense, has characteristics — space-form — which do not belong to the simple sensations which constitute it. The problem, therefore, which Physiological Psychology submits to the senses is this: "On the basis of what combinations of physical processes of sense do the different resulting sensations come to be combined into presentations of sense under the new characteristic of space-form?" At the end of the chapter Professor Ladd summarizes his conclusions as to the nature of perception as follows: "Perception is the result of an extremely complex activity of the psychical subject, mind; it involves the synthesis of a number of sense-data according to laws that are not deducible from the nature of the external objects, or of the physiological action of the end organs and central organs of sense."

We pass by the intervening chapters to give some account of the chapter on the Physical Basis of the Higher Faculties. Professor Ladd's position on this interesting and important question is very well indicated by one of the opening paragraphs of the chapter. He says: "While our conscious psychical experience of the higher mental activities is so far obvious as to make that side of the subject capable of scientific statement, our knowledge of the physiological processes connected with those activities is in precisely the opposite condition. Over and over again the confession has been forced from us that — strictly speaking — a scientific physiology of the cerebral hemispheres does not yet exist. We can only dimly conjecture what takes place in the nerve-elements of the cortex of the cerebrum as the physical basis of conscious sensation and perception. . . . A science for the vast complex of nerve-cells and nerve-fibres which exists in the gray matter of the brain proper is at present scarcely a matter for even hopeful anticipation. Faint and doubtful guesses, more or less intimately connected with general principles of molecular physics and physiology of the nervous system, are all that can appear in the name of such a science. But the very business of Physiological Psychology is to connect together under general laws the mental phenomena on the one side, and the ascertained facts of physiology on the other side. In this case we are tolerably equipped with information as to the former; we have little but unverifiable assumption to take the place of the latter. In attempting the inquiry into the physical basis of the higher faculties (the physiological psychology of volition, memory, conception, etc.), no other course is open but to accept the facts of consciousness, and then *speculate* as to how they may, perhaps, in part, be accounted for by a conjectural extension of certain physical and physiological facts of the cerebral hemispheres. This procedure certainly cannot be called '*science*'; it is, however, the only one open instead of a confession of complete ignorance."

We have not space to follow Professor Ladd further. Of the interesting discussion that constitutes the third part of the book we can only say that its general conclusion is, that "the assumption that the mind is a real being, which can be acted upon by the brain, and which can act on the body through the brain, is the only one compatible with all the facts of experience."

It is with a feeling not far removed from pain that we are obliged to content ourselves with such a fragmentary and incomplete presentation of this very important book. If caution, candor, impartiality, breadth and accuracy of scholarship, and soundness of judgment in weighing evidence, are marks of ability, then it is but simple truth to say that this is one of the ablest books that American scholarship has yet produced. Those who wish to know what has been done and is doing in Physiological Psychology, who wish to be able to draw the line sharply between ascertained fact and conjecture, may be assured that the book has yet to be written which will supply their wants as perfectly as this.

J. P. Gordy.

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WORD STUDIES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D. D. Vol. I. The Synoptic Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887.

The aim of this book is, in the author's language, "to put the reader of the English Bible nearer to the standpoint of the Greek scholar, by opening to him the native force of the separate words of the New Testament in their lexical sense, their etymology, their history, their inflection, and the peculiarities of their usage by the different evangelists and apostles."

The work may be roughly described as a collection of notes on those passages of the New Testament least capable of adequate rendering into English, helping the reader see what the language used in each must have meant to its original audience. This is done by tracing the history of the words employed and showing their meaning in the light of their genesis, by a literal translation of idiomatic passages, and explaining how the Greek idiom carried their thought, by a comparison of synonyms; — and, after the fashion of other commentators, by illustrative notes drawn from history, archæology, and ancient literature.

How far the aim proposed is an attainable one is a question as to which there cannot but be a wide difference in opinion, and which it is not worth while here to enter upon. It will be readily admitted by those who believe that the force of Greek idioms can only be perceived by minds possessing at least an elementary acquaintance with the Greek language, that the reader of the Bible in the translation can derive much benefit from this excellent book. Indeed, many who use their New Testament in the original with more or less facility will be both stimulated and instructed by turning its pages. Its comments show a wide range of reading and refined scholarship combined with unusual literary power. The remarks introducing the several books commented upon, especially those prefacing the first three Gospels, are succinct and just. The notes elucidating difficult passages are suggestive and so helpful, if not always convincing; and the hard passages commented on are so many that one wonders that 1 Pet. iv. 6, is passed by.

The writer has, perhaps, not wholly escaped the temptation which haunts students of language to exaggerate the influence which the history of a word has in determining its actual use. He says, e. g., "these (pictorial) words carry hidden in their bosom their original pictures, and the mark of the blow which struck each into life, and they will show them to him who lovingly questions them concerning their birth and their history." "Will show them," that is, as embodied in the conscious thought of living men. Such study then finds that our Lord when using *παρὰ τὸ νόμιμον* (trespasses) in Matt. vi. 14, had in mind a different phase of sin from that thought of when the word *ὀρεϊλήματα* (v. 12) was used, because the word from which the former word is derived often means, "throw one's self upon" an enemy, and gives to the derivative the meaning, "willful sin." But can we feel sure that that picture was then in our Lord's mind, knowing as we do that words in common use become counters, from which all reference to their origin is obliterated? Especially when we recollect that to most at least of the New Testament writers Greek was only a second mother-tongue, should we hesitate to include shades of meaning buried under the history of their words, in their intentional teaching. The fact that we have in our Lord's sayings preserved in the Gospels only translations of what He said in Aramaic should make us still more cautious of giving his authority to such resurrected meanings.

Two errors in the "List of authors and editions" may be pointed out. The article "Gospels" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" was not written by Professor Ezra Abbot, but by the English scholar Dr. E. A. Abbott. The Christian name of Grimm, the author of the New Testament Lexicon, is not Carlo, but Karl, or *Carolus*, when Latinized, as in the title to his *Clavis*. Professor Thayer in his preface writes the name "C. L. Willibald Grimm."

Edward Y. Hincks.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Neuer Commentar über die Genesis, von Franz Delitzsch. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke. 8vo, pp. iv, 554. 12 mks. — This is in reality the fifth edition of Delitzsch's commentary, and is so called by the author in his preface. The fourth edition appeared, however, fifteen years ago, and the present is so completely altered and so essentially improved as perhaps to justify the name which appears upon the title-page. The critical investigations of the past few years render necessary of course an entire remodeling of work done so long ago, and the author, as is well known, has by no means remained unaffected by the results of radical criticism. At the same time he remains orthodox enough to suit the most exacting, unless it be the worthy Dr. Gossrau whose commentary was mentioned some months ago. But Delitzsch's present attitude toward the results of Old Testament criticism is too well known from his recent writings to need a description here. The present commentary from the pen of the Leipzig veteran will be very widely welcomed and most justly so. — *Kritisch-exegetisches Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis*.

Vierte verbesserte Auflage, von Dr. Friedrich Dürstendieck, (Kritisch-exegetischer Commentar über das Neue Testament, von H. A. W. Meyer, Sechzehnte Abtheilung.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. vi, 574. 9 mks. — The present edition of this standard work, as the author informs us in his preface, is not essentially changed. There would therefore be no necessity for mentioning it in this connection were it not for the interest which every work upon the Apocalypse must at present arouse in view of its relation to the theory of Vischer. The author says that he has not in the present volume entered into a discussion of that theory for the reason that a special treatise would be needed for its consideration. Vischer according to him has in his favor the fact that Jewish apocalypses have been worked over by Christian hands and have thus come into use within the church. "Diese Hypothese, mit Scharfsinn durchgeführt, hat etwas blendendes;" and yet he adds, "Mir hat Vischer nicht den Eindruck der fest geschlossenen Einheit benommen, den unser Buch in einer überwältigenden Weise macht. Und wie ist es denkbar, dass der christliche Uebersetzer und dass die alte Kirche die Vorstellung von der noch bevorstehenden Geburt des Messias, und zwar eines Messias, für welchen Leiden und Sterben ausgeschlossen sind, ertragen haben sollte." And upon p. 25 of his introduction the words of the previous edition still stand: "Die Einheit des vorliegenden Buches und zwar die ursprüngliche Einheit ergibt sich aus dem planvollen Organismus in welchem der ganze Inhalt vom Anfange bis zum Schluss harmonisch sich darstellt." It is interesting to compare with these decided words a sentence from Pfeiderer's book mentioned below: "Mir steht bis jetzt mindestens so viel zweifellos fest, dass die Apokalypse nicht das Werk des Apostels Johannes ist, sondern dass verschiedene Hände an ihr gearbeitet haben und dass ihre jüngsten Bestandtheile aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert stammen." Pfeiderer in fact is inclined to accept the theory of Völter, though he speaks at the same time of the "bedeutende Schrift von Vischer-Harnack." — *Die Paulinischen Reden der Apostelgeschichte*. Historisch-grammatisch und biblisch-theologisch ausgelegt von Dr. Friedrich Bethge, Pastor. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. vi, 336. — In the introduction the author states his views in regard to the authenticity of the recorded speeches of Paul. He regards Luke as the author of the Acts and as identical with the writer of the so-called "We" portions, and the book as an authentic and reliable history throughout. The speeches as we have them are not inventions of the author in the interest of conciliation ("Tendenz-Schriften"), nor are they speeches composed to fit the occasion after the style of the profane historians. Still further they are not merely "die Wiedergabe der Reden unter dem Titel des Referats, sei es eines vollständigen, sei es eines skizzenhaften," but a free and at the same time essentially true reproduction of Paul's thought in an original form. "Reproduction ist die höchste Einheit objectiven Wissens und subjectiver Gestaltungskraft, der Freiheit der Darstellung und der Wahrheit des Dargestellten, ist die Kraft des Schaffens eines selbständigen Geistes im Rahmen des Geistes eines Anderen." The title describes fully the nature of the commentary. It consists of nine chapters, discussing — I, Acts xiii. 10–41; II, ch. xiv. 8–18, and ch. xvii. 16–34; III, ch. xx. 17–33; IV, ch. xxii. 1–21; V, ch. xxiii. 1–11; VI, ch. xxiv. 10–21; VII, ch. xxv. 1–12; VIII, ch. xxvi.; IX, ch. xxvii. 21–26, and xxviii. 17–28. — *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Neuen Testament*. Eine von der Haager Gesellschaft zur Verteidigung der

christlichen Religion gekrönte Preisschrift von Ernest Issel, Pfarrer in Baden. Leiden: Brill. Large 8vo, pp. viii, 159. 2.75 mks. — A very careful word study. Its contents are as follows: Erster Haupttheil: Genetische Erklärung des Begriffs *áγιος* und seiner Derivate in den Schriften des N. T. I. Die A. T. Voraussetzungen. II. Der N. T. Gebrauch. Anhang: Der Gebrauch in der Literatur der apost. Väter. Zweiter Haupttheil: Anwendung der Resultate zur Charakteristik des ältesten Christenthums. I. Die religiöse Selbstbeurtheilung der christlichen Gemeinde im Lichte des Begriffs "heilig." II. Die Stellung der christlichen Gemeinde zum Volk Israel. III. Ihre Stellung zum Heidentum. Two sentences will serve as a summary of the author's results. "Als den Grundbegriff von 'heilig' haben wir gefunden: Ausgeschiedenheit von allen Profanen zum Eigentum Gottes" (p. 107). "Da es ferner in der Gemeinde der Heidenchristen vor allem galt, die heidnischen Laster auszurotten, so war stets Veranlassung da zur Reinheit zu mahnen, und da diese im Gefolge des Heiligkeitsbegriffs stand, so erdrückte allmählich der Nebengriff 'sein' den Hauptbegriff 'Gott-gehörig.'" (p. 103.)

PERIODICALS. — *Die Entstehung des Episcopats in der christlichen Kirche*, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Hatch-Harnack'sche Hypothese. Von Rudolf Seyerlen, Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie, 1887, Heft II, pp. 97-143, Heft III, pp. 201-244, and Heft IV, pp. 297-333. — An extended and careful study of this much discussed subject, in which the author comes to the defense of the ordinary non-episcopal theory over against the positions of Hatch as published in his Bampton lectures which were afterward translated into German with important additions by Harnack. The writer insists upon the original identity of Bishops and Presbyters, going through the sources in detail and rejecting the conclusions of Hatch and Harnack at every point.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

ROME, ITALY.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Cupples & Hurd, Boston. Bledisloe, or Aunt Pen's American Nieces. An International Story. By Ada M. Trotter. Pp. ii, 324. 1887. \$1.50; — Diet in Relation to Age and Activity. By Sir H. Thompson, F. R. C. S., Surgeon Extraordinary to His Majesty the King of the Belgians, Consulting Surgeon to University College Hospital, Emeritus Professor of Clinical Surgery to University College, etc. From the tenth English Edition. Pp. 94. 1887. 50 cents; — Thoughts. Second Series. By Ivan Panin. Pp. 116. 1887. 50 cents; — Zorah: A Love Tale of Modern Egypt. By Elizabeth Balch, D. T. S., author of "Mustard Leaves." Pp. 287. 1887. \$1.25. Paper, 50 cents.

A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. Romanism and the Reformation. From the Standpoint of Prophecy. By H. Grattan Guinness, F. R. G. S., author of "Light for the Last Days," "The Approaching End of the Age," etc. Pp. ix, 396. 1887; — Is there Salvation after Death? A Treatise on the Gospel in the Intermediate State. By E. D. Morris, D. D., LL. D., Lane Theological Seminary. Pp. 252. 1887.

The Baker & Taylor Company, New York. Modern Cities and their Religious Problems. By Samuel Lane Loomis. With an Introduction by Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D. 12mo, pp. 219. 1887. \$1.00; — Evangelistic Work in Prin-

ciple and Practice. By Arthur T. Pierson, D. D., author of "The Crisis of Missions," "Many Infallible Proofs," "Keys to the Word," etc. 16mo, pp. viii, 340. 1887. \$1.25; — Voice Culture and Elocution. By Wm. T. Ross, A. M. Revised Edition. 12mo, pp. xii, 326. 1887. \$1.25.

A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. Bible Studies from the Old and New Testaments, covering the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1888. By Geo. F. Pentecost, D. D., author of "In the Volume of the Book," "Out of Egypt," etc. Pp. viii, 342. 1887. 50 cents.

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Sketches in Song. By George Lansing Raymond, author of "A Life in Song," "Ballads of the Revolution," "Poetry as a Representative Art." Pp. iv, 156. 1887. \$1.00.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. History of the Christian Church. By George Park Fisher, D. D., LL. D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. With Maps. 8vo, pp. xiii, 700. 1887. \$3.50; — The Ethical Import of Darwinism. By Jacob Gould Schurman, M. A. (Lond.), D. Sc. (Edinb.), Sage Professor of Philosophy in Cornell University. 12mo, pp. xv, 264. 1887. \$1.50; — The Story of the Psalms. By Henry Van Dyke, D. D., Pastor of The Brick Church in New York, author of "The Reality of Religion." Pp. iv, 258. 1887. \$1.50; — Fifteen Years in the Chapel of Yale College. By Noah Porter. 1871-1886. Crown 8vo, pp. 413. 1887. \$2.50; — Critical Notes on the International Sunday-School Lessons. From the Pentateuch. For 1887 (January 2-June 26). By the Rev. S. R. Driver, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christchurch, Oxford. Pp. v, 85. 1887. 75 cents.

Scribner & Welford, New York. History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion. From the Reformation to Kant. By Bernhard Pünjer. Translated from the German by W. Hastie, B. D. With a Preface by Robert Flint, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. Pp. xix, 660. 1887.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. Bohlen Lectures. Inaugural Series. Four Lectures. Delivered in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, in the year 1877, on the Foundation of the late John Bohlen, Esq. By Alexander H. Vinton, D. D. Second Edition. Pp. 130. 1887.

FAMPHLETS. — *Carl Schoenhof, Boston.* Handbuch für den Konfirmanden-Unterricht. Methodische und nach Luthers Katechismus geordnete Stoffsammlung, mit Berücksichtigung der kirchlichen Bekenntnisschriften. Zweiter Teil. Das zweite Hauptstück oder evangelische Glaubenslehre. Auch für alle Gebildeten in biblisch-kirchlich-apologetischer Behandlung von Dr. Georg Hornburg, Pastor in Detersshagen bei Burg. Magdeburg. Pp. 174. 1887; — Missionsstunden von R. W. Dietel, Pfarrer in Mülsen St. Jakob. IV. Heft. Pp. 181. 1887; — *Leonard Scott Publication Co., Philadelphia, Pa.* Shakespeariana, October, 1887. \$1.50 per annum.

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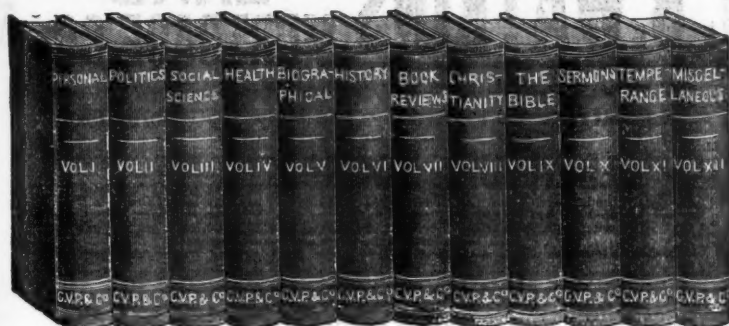
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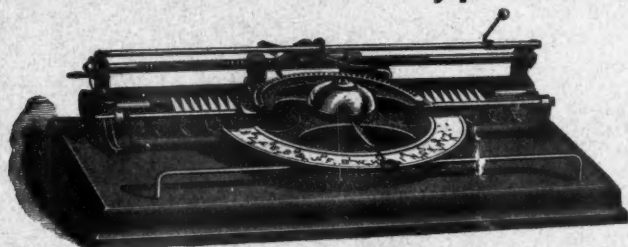
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